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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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28 August 1984

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MAJOR LINES OF FRENCH POLICY IN AFRICA NOTED

Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 pp 48-51

[Text]

**The third international session of the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale, or National Defence Institute (IHEDN), convened on Monday, May 7, 1984 at Paris' Ecole Militaire (Military Academy). During his opening speech, Mr. Gatel, state secretary from the French Defence Ministry, noted the major lines of French policy in Africa. He placed particular emphasis on the close historical, cultural and economic ties between France and French-speaking African nations.**

«I would like first of all to say that Charles Hernu, the Minister of Defence, would very much like to have personally opened this international session of the IHEDN as he did for the past two sessions. But as you undoubtedly know, he is at present on an official visit to Gabon. This is but one further example of the continuing dialogue that France maintains with its African friends. I myself have recently returned from three trips to Africa, where I was able to note firsthand the different manifestations of Franco-African cooperation. The first visit took me to Chad and to the Central African Republic. In the former, I witnessed the effectiveness of the French presence, and in the latter I took note of the close cooperation being implemented. On my second trip, I accompanied the Prime Minister to the Ivory Coast. And my third trip to Africa took me to Djibouti, on the Horn of Africa, the keystone to the French presence in Eastern Africa.

I would also like to thank you in the name of the French government for having accepted our invitation to take part in this joint examination of defence problems at the institute.

I would like to congratulate the IHEDN for the high quality of its work and the success with which it has studied defence matters. I

am certain that this new session will once again result in a fruitful and friendly dialogue between African and French leaders, further strengthening the contacts and relations between France and African nations, as well as between France and the African peoples.

This dialogue will take place within the context of the objectives that your session is to pursue, and of the program that has been scheduled. General Pozzo di Borgo, director of the institute, has met with each of you. For the next three weeks you will be travelling throughout France, particularly to my own region of Vaucluse. You will obtain extensive information, gaining insights into our priorities, while informing us of your own.

This dialogue must be frank and direct. France imposes no prior conditions on discussions with its friends. In order to open this dialogue, I'd like to share with you a number of thoughts on France's defence policy, on its objectives and capabilities, followed by a short synopsis of our view of the present international political situation.

### **A menacing international situation**

In Europe, we have always been concerned by the imbalance of forces, which is a major factor in tensions and the risk of



war. The USSR has gained superiority in conventional weapons. It is now on its way to gaining superiority in nuclear weaponry, as the first Pershing missiles are deployed. It is hardly necessary to note again that such massive means of destruction tend to radically modify international relations. Simply consider the 360 or so mobile SS-20 missiles with their more than 1000 warheads able to strike within 10 minutes over 56 nations in Europe, Asia or North Africa, or nearly two-thirds of the world population. The rebalancing of forces is thus an absolute necessity. This is why the President of the Republic, François Mitterand, has unfailingly supported the deployment of the Pershings. Nor should I underestimate another threat — that of terrorism. This faceless adversary strikes outside of the traditional norms of behaviour between nations, since terrorism means war, whereas relations between nations remain peaceful. The African continent is itself threatened by what the French Defence Minister called here on April 22, 1982 during his opening remarks to the 2nd international session of the IHEDN, its internal fragility, due in particular to ethnic or religious divisions and the expansionist aims of overambitious neighbours.

The economic crisis that has hit Western countries weighs even more heavily in Africa. The deterioration of exchange rates and unreasonable rises in costs of raw materials that President Mitterand so vigorously attacked during the Cancun summit constitute acute threats in Africa. The African continent is faced with other difficulties as well: exploding urban populations, energy crises, problems with the international monetary system and international payments, industrial dependence, harmful rivalries, single-sector economies and the various imbalances that are the legacy of colonialism. All of these difficulties promote political destabilization.

We must avoid the African continent's becoming the staging ground for major confrontations.

But what then is the role of France — and its policy — within this international context?

**Confronted with this particularly difficult situation, France's objective is solely the preservation of the peace, security and independence of our friends who requests our assistance.** In order to implement these objectives, France's defence policy is based on four principles that have been clearly laid out time and again: first, the balance of forces at as low a level as possible, which is a basic condition for peace; second, deterrence, which is the foundation of France's security, under the terms of its

alliances; third, the possession of an independent and credible defence structure, comprised in particular of the French nuclear strike force; finally, the will of the French people to defend themselves, without which our weapons would be devoid of deterrent and defensive value.

These closely interrelated principles apply not only to Europe, where the imbalance in force is a major factor in the increased risk of war or loss of independence, but also throughout the rest of the world. They apply in particular to Africa and the Middle East, regions whose historical ties with France give them special importance. I would now like to elaborate on each of these principles, one by one.

**—Balance, striving for peace and disarmament.** France pursues these objectives resolutely, but without naivety. The French deterrent force cannot be compared with that of the two superpowers. When these terrible arsenals that have been built up begin to be dismantled, we shall follow suit. But we should not be counted on to disarm first.

**—Deterrence through strength.** France possesses a force capable of deterring any potential aggressor. This force constitutes a guarantee of peace. This peace is ensured without recourse to external protection, but France remains faithful to the Atlantic Alliance, and is ready to assume its responsibilities in Central Europe if the political decisions are made.

**—An independent defence structure.** France depends upon no one but itself for its security. It will take all necessary steps to maintain its deterrent capabilities from a technological standpoint. We have taken the decision to build our seventh nuclear missile-launching submarine, to strengthen the Albion missile base and to upgrade the Air Force (the Mirage 2000 will be equipped with the ASMP medium-range air-to-surface missile). Research on the future SX mobile missile is also about to begin. Our tactical weaponry will be further modernized with the deployment of the Hades nuclear missile, the ultimate deterrent. All of these measures are provided for in the legislation defining the 1984-1988 development plan. At the same time, however, we are not neglecting the development of our conventional forces. The creation of the FAR rapid deployment force is the reflection of our policy of building an army with strength through advanced equipment rather than numbers, all within the context of economically imposed restrictions.

**—A resolute will to defend ourselves.** This element is of the utmost importance, since

however reliable our equipment may be, it remains inert without the will of the men behind it.

This willingness is reinforced in three different ways:

1) Before the age of military service, awareness is strengthened in our schools of the problems involved through the study of history and civics. The Hernu-Savary draft bill provides measures to implement this, and we are also examining basic and advanced military preparatory programs.

2) During military service an increased awareness is gained of the global implications of various defence problems.

3) Following military service, we don't think it a good idea that all of the young people in France have not been assigned to reserve units for at least a certain amount of time.

We have therefore decided that all draftees will be assigned to reserve units at least during the first few years following their military service. These reserve units may be assigned to the DOT territorial defence group or to civil defence units.

Now, what are the principles that underly our African policy?

This policy can be summarized in 10 points:

—**Striving towards stability**, just as in Europe. We must do everything possible to avoid instability.

—**Respect for the independence of states**: we must under all circumstances stand up to the use of force. This principle explains our intervention in Chad, a country whose independence has been directly threatened. We are there to guarantee its territorial integrity and freedom.

—**Respect for national borders**. This is one of the basic principles put forth by the OAU. States have been created through the vestiges of colonization. These states may become nations, and it is our duty to assist them. This is the problem which exists in Chad, and it is also the reason for our presence there.

—**Loyalty to our friends**. Countless historical, economic and diplomatic ties link us to Africa. We are well aware of these links and of their implications. France has every intention to assume all of its responsibilities.

—**Respect of our defence agreements**. These agreements may have multiple aspects. They are either protection agreements or cooperation agreements. They may result in the deterrent presence of French soldiers, or in military assistance in the form of advisers and officer training. This cooperation may also involve the presence of foreign trainees in our military academies and training facilities. Exchanges in

personnel are, in our opinion, much more important than those simply involving equipment: 3000 young Africans receive training each year in France. Finally, there is also direct aid in equipment supplies.

—**There are some 30,000 French soldiers serving outside of France**, in addition to units on alert within the country. These peacekeeping forces are in direct contact with the civilian populations. They fulfill rescue, treatment, building and general-security mission.

—This cooperation has absolutely nothing to do with any sort of neocolonialism. **France is present only where it has been requested to go**. It respects the choices and options of its African friends, does not become involved in domestic problems and works towards transforming relationships based on dependence into friendship ties.

—**The necessity of our presence**, meaning that if we were not present in certain countries others would be — perhaps more powerful and less inclined to respect the integrity of the different nations. France has an important role to play because of its history and the values it holds.

—**The necessity of diplomatic solutions**. The Chadian problem required the presence of Manta and his 3,000 troops to provide an immediate military solution following the Libyan aggression. This was effectively carried out despite the problems of logistics, heat and physical strain. Our top units are in Chad to end this Libyan aggression. But we are well aware that they are but a means to an end, and that there may be a diplomatic solution involving national reconciliation.

I want to emphasize that France will remain in Chad until this diplomatic solution can be found and the Libyan invasion force has pulled out.

—France, through its military strength and its political, diplomatic and economic policies, aims to provide solutions to the problems of the nations of the southern hemisphere and of developing countries. It **provides an alternative** to simply projecting the East-West conflicts of the north on the African continent. It enables those countries who wish to do so to escape the logic of blocs and to go beyond the vestiges of Yalta.

I would like to conclude by thanking you again for your presence here today. Dialogue between peoples is of the utmost importance — it is the very foundation of all that we hope to accomplish. It is the most precious form of cooperation that can exist.

## Field trips

During three weeks, General Pozzo Di Borgo went on to explain, the participants



were to study the defence problems and different aspects related to French policy in Africa. Following an examination of the international situation, of stakes involved in Africa within the context of the East-West confrontation and of French foreign policy, they would visit a number of installations in order to get a better idea of the French military apparatus.

This IHEDN program regularly brings together high-ranking African and French officers and civilian officials who engage in an in-depth examination of defence problems seen in their economic, political, military and strategic contexts. Two similar sessions have already been held at the IHEDN, in 1980 and 1982 (cf. African Defence Journal, August 1982).

The goal of the IHEDN, created in 1936, is to promote understanding of the multiple facets of French defence policy. The national sessions last throughout an academic year, and have received over 9,000 participants since 1948. They have brought together hundreds of military, governmental and private representatives, including both elected officials and union leaders. The international sessions, intended mainly for African nations, were begun in 1980. They gather not only military personnel, but also political and administrative officials from countries linked to France through cooperation agreements.

The first week of this most recent session saw an extensive examination of the main defence problems existing on an international level in general and in Africa in particular. The program included a presentation by General Chacun on East-West tensions and their consequences on world stability; a look at present economic problems and their repercussions on the future of developing nations; an address by General Bonin on inter-African relations and their recent evolution, particularly in Southern Africa; an analysis of French foreign policy in Africa and its contributions in terms of bilateral and multilateral cooperations. Following this presentation, the speaker emphasized the importance given to the French-speaking countries on the African continent in this regard.

The totality of the information presented to the participants at this 3rd international session enabled them to get a more acute perception of political, strategic and economic realities and to better grasp the difficulties facing industrialized nations and developing African nations.

During the week of May 14-19, the French Defence Ministry made a point to highlight the military capabilities of the French rapid

deployment force, or FAR, during a number of «field» demonstrations.

At Toulon, the Navy presented the intervention capabilities of an aircraft carrier at sea with a remarkable demonstration of takeoffs and landings by aircraft from the naval air wing.

At Toulouse, the 11th paratroop division emphasized the «know-how» of its units and their ability to counter threats on any continent that might weigh against the independence of countries tied to France through defence agreements.

At Apt the nuclear side of French defence was highlighted with a visit to the Albion plateau, the site of the French ground-to-ground nuclear missiles, the cornerstone of French deterrence.

Finally, at Nancy, the 2nd CATAC tactical air command demonstrated its ability to fly ground attack sorties to support ground forces with its Jaguar aircraft, that have the capability of in-flight refueling. The 2nd CATAC also presented an entire range of air and ground support equipment for Jaguar interventions.

These quality demonstrations emphasized the high level of training of French forces, already confirmed by the different overseas interventions by French troops over the past several years.

The last week of the session brought the IHEDN participants to the city of Lyon, the headquarters of the 5th military region. The trip was made by the new ultra-modern high-speed TGV train which links Paris, Lyon and Marseille.

The commanding general of the 5th region underlined the importance of defending metropolitan France and of coordinating during peacetime the activities of military and civilian authorities: this helps curb terrorism and prevent violent incidents. These demonstrations ended with a trip to Orleans, near Paris, where the Gendarmerie Nationale showed the effectiveness of this branch in the service of the Defence, Interior and Justice ministries. A presentation of the nuclear power plant at Paluel in Normandy also showed the extent of France's accomplishment in terms of diversifying its energy sources.

Upon returning to Paris, participants heard General Leclerc, head of the French military cooperation mission, reiterate the major directions of his office's activities in Africa. He emphasized the importance for France of close understanding between the armed forces of African nations and the French military. This close cooperation made for optimal use of resources for training and instruction of personnel. The session ended

with a speech by Mr. Nucci, Cooperation Minister. During an extremely open exchange of views, he showed the extent to which ties between Africa and France remained close and fraternal.

The 4th international session is scheduled for 1986.

## Participants

The third session of the IHEDN brought together the following participants:

—**Madagascar**: Colonel Rémy Ratsimbazafy, military adviser to the president, along with Colonel Rakotomanga Mijoro, inspector general of the gendarmerie.

—**ANAD (Non-aggression and Defence Agreement)**: Commander Sékou Konate, studies director.

—**Benin**: Lieutenant-Colonel André Atchade, defence forces chief of staff, and Colonel Pierre Koffi, general director of the defence ministry.

—**Burundi**: Lieutenant-Colonel Karenzo Hermanegilde, armed forces chief of staff, and Lieutenant-Colonel Porota Paul, national defence secretary general.

—**Comores**: Commander Ahmed Mohamed, armed forces chief of staff.

—**Congo**: Battalion Commander Denis Ibara, Navy and Air Force military attaché in Paris.

—**Ivory Coast**: Frigate Captain Fako Koné, Navy commander, and Colonel Roger Zinsou, armed forces vice-chief of staff.

—**Gabon**: Brigadier-General Thomas Ehyia-Obiang, chief-of-staff of the armed forces, and Brigadier-General Henri Tsinga, gendarmerie chief of staff.

—**Gambia**: Lieutenant-Colonel Momodou N'Dow N'Jie, gendarmerie and army commander.

—**Mauritania**: Lieutenant-Colonel Brahim Ould Alioune N'Diaye, chief of the 3rd national bureau staff, and Commander Mohamed Ould Bouh, defence secretary general.

—**Central African Republic**: Martin Yando, head of the president's cabinet, and Sissa Lebernard, ambassador to France.

—**Rwanda**: Major Félicien Muberuka, commander of the Gako training center, and Commander Anatole Nsengiyumva.

—**Senegal**: Amadou Fall, cabinet director of the armed forces minister, and Amadou-Abdoulaye Dieng, North Zone commander.

—**Togo**: Tchalim Tchaa-Koza, director of the president's cabinet, and Colonel Bonfoh Bassadi, commander of the paratroop-commando regiment.

—**Zaire**: Bofunga W'Ayoko, ambassador to France and director of the treaty office, and Colonel Baoko Yoka, national defence secretary general.

Also invited but unable to attend this session were ANAD's secretary general, Brigadier General Tavarés da Souza, as well as Cameroon's delegation.

—**France** was represented by: Bernard Guillet from the external relations ministry; Mr. Benichou from the cooperation ministry; Colonel Pacaud, army attaché to the cooperation ministry; Colonel Terrasson, army attaché to the national defence secretariat general; Colonel Ducros, air force attaché to the national defence secretariat general; Colonel Bacquie, army attaché to the armed forces general staff; Commander Aubin de Blampre, army attaché to the armed forces general staff; Colonel Beauchesné, army general staff attaché; Colonel Deroudil, air force attaché to the air force general staff; navy Lieutenant Durand de Saint Andre, and Colonel Mathe of the Gendarmerie Nationale.

EXPERT CLAIMS 'SOCIALISM LOSING GROUND IN AFRICA'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Aug 84 p 8

[Text]

A TOP geopolitical expert on Africa, Dr Erich Leistner, said last night that there were strong and encouraging signs that socialism was losing ground rapidly in Africa.

In a special lecture on the future facing the continent, Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, urged a continuation and stepped up efforts by South Africa, to bridge the gap and establish contacts with Black African states.

At the same time he described as incorrect the belief of many South Africans that only misunderstandings and hostile Soviet Union propaganda, the United Nations and other interested parties were responsible for poisoning relations with Africa.

"Actually this propaganda merely exploits, and of course further strengthens, the deep aversion that elite groups throughout Africa har-

bour toward South Africa's domestic order.

"Their attitudes will only begin to change once creditable Black South Africans speak up for their country," said Dr Leistner.

But, while still regarding Colonialism as the root cause of Africa's misery, the Black leaders were now beginning to acknowledge that they themselves were not free of blame.

### Co-operation

Prof Flip Smit, deputy president of the Human Sciences Research Council and chairman of the Africa Institute, said that hopefully the bilateral co-operation with Mozambique and Swaziland would pave the road to better co-operation on a regional and multilateral basis.

In a specialist lecture on the future facing Africa, he told a meeting of

the Institute that meanwhile South Africa must not allow its will to succeed to be watered down — and to continue at all costs to strive to achieve common successes for all the people of the subcontinent.

Prof Smit sketched a dismal record of instability, bloodshed, corruption and failed governments in Africa.

Thirty were one-party states and 10 were under military government. Since 1963 a total of 61 governments had been overthrown; 30 of the 51 had lived through at least one coup; 14 had suffered more than one coup; there were at least 12 cases of heads of government being executed.

And, said Prof Smit, there was not a single state in Black Africa which did not live in the shadow of a possible coup.

RELIEF EFFORTS AID RETURN, RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES

West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 15 Jul 84 p 31

[Article by Werner Gartung: "Return from Djibouti and Somalia: "Ethiopian Refugees Travel Back to Their Old Homeland"]

[Text] Djibouti--"Never again will I go back to Ethiopia. Never."  
Abdulah Hassan, a forty-year-old small farmer, looked out from the refugee camp in stony hot Djibouti toward the nearby border. Right behind it his home town, on the other side, "his" side.

Like Hassan, tens of thousands of uprooted Ethiopians feared a repetition of what, along with the drought, forced them to flight at the end of the seventies: War, and its side effects--violence, repression and persecutions. Their villages lay on the western edge of the seemingly endless, thorny Ogaden steppe, which sticks like a wedge into the western flank of Somalia and has always been claimed by the Somali.

A year ago, however, there had been much hope in Hassan's stubborn "never," but anger and uncertainty made him wait. Around 35,000 refugees crowded into the camps of Dikhil and Ali Sabieh--a tenth of the total population of the tiny country on the Red Sea, which itself has nothing but stones to offer.

"We Would Rather Die"

Djibouti wanted to quickly get rid of the unpopular refugees and pushed for unilateral measures with deportations or non-recognition of refugee status. The consequence: Nothing moved anymore. "We would rather die here than go back," Hassan said at the time. Like him, many of those harmed by the drought were disquieted by the gory reports and stories of political refugees.

The first step toward normalization: An agreement between the governments in Djibouti and Ethiopia; with the UN refugee organization UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees] as mediator. Ethiopians of the RRC [Relief and Resettlement Commission] traveled to Djibouti to urge their countrymen to return. With difficulty, a first group was assembled: 170 people who arrived in the dusty hamlet of Adigala by narrow-gauge

train in September of last year to start their old, new life again. They rolled out the "red carpet"--banners, the press and officials--for this poor group that owned scarcely more than the clothes they were wearing.

Since that 19th of September, 7,000 refugees have taken the train back home. The same number again have gone home on their own: By foot through the rocky semi-desert, with a camel or one of the few goats that they had been able to save for the trip to Djibouti.

Hassan, too, went recently. Two of his four children were born in the Dikhil camp. After four years in pitiful exile, the man acts discouraged and apathetic. Now, he breaks the stone-hard earth at the edge of his "tukel," the traditional round hut, with a wooden plow drawn by a camel; rather an attempt to soon stand on his own two feet again than "agriculture." The hamlet of Shinille, alongside the railway line and not far from the provincial capital of Dire Dawa, has visibly bloomed and grown considerably. Sheep and goats graze on straw-yellow grass between the man-high cacti, the once miserable market has grown larger. The UNHCR helps with food for a start, cooking pots and livestock. 8.2 million dollars have been budgeted for the program so far. The ICARA [International Conference on Assistance to Refugees] II refugee conference in Geneva (July 9-11) decided for further support, like a farm project of more than 500 hectares in the vicinity of Shinille: 300 returned families will be able to live from raising livestock, cultivating corn and irrigated farming.

#### Serious Problem: The Drought

"Our biggest problem is the drought," believes Wolde Giorges, commissioner of the Ethiopian relief organization RRC. "Over five million people in the country are threatened, and among them those who have returned home as well." To ensure the survival of the new villages, a train with water containers regularly travels the railway line to Djibouti.

14,000 returnees from Djibouti in ten months--in the past year, even the biggest optimists would scarcely have believed this possible. Nor the remigration of over 30,000 people from Somalia, which--along with the Sudan --has to bear the main burden of all the African refugees.

The refugees who have returned from Somalia have resettled in their old homeland: the Ogaden. This, too, is a contribution of the Ethiopian RRC organization in conjunction with the UNHCR. Farms and thousands of houses --like in Degeh Bur or Kelafo--have come into being and it was decided in Geneva to finance a 180-kilometer-long road between Gode and Mustahil.

The villages along the railway line to Djibouti and in the Ogaden need rain --and peace. Then, the people there will again be able to help themselves-- a slim hope in Africa, the continent of hunger and refugees.

12507

CSO: 3420/37



## AFRICAN CORRESPONDENT GIVES IMPRESSIONS OF JAMBA MILITARY CAMP

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Jul 84 p 20

[Article by Peter Sullivan: "A Trip to Jamba Is Like a Brainwash"]

[Text]

Visiting a guerilla camp in Southern Angola is no longer any big deal: many journalists, foreign dignitaries, envoys and military men have been there before.

One arrives somewhat cynical, expecting an experience of normal dimensions, possibly a news story or two from what Dr Savimbi says.

Instead the experience is extraordinary. A little like a brainwash, a whole lot like a religious conversion.

After an exhausting night, we arrived at the stadium (one of two in Jamba) to be welcomed by thousands of singing, chanting, ululating Africans waving bits of paper in the air with the kind of enthusiasm one expects to see at a soccer cup final.

And the crowd is not far away or contained within the circle of a stadium, they are right there with you, singing and shouting in your ear.

As you walk to the podium, not a temporary shelter but more a permanent grandstand, you gulp down wave upon

wave of raw, neat emotion.

No matter how cynical you might be politically, it gets to you.

On the parade ground that serves as the arena of the stadium are impeccably dressed troops, three companies of them.

Next to them is a display of big guns, artillery pieces and anti-aircraft weapons.

The crowd keeps chanting, the singers keep singing, doing little choreographed dances which clearly express their welcome. Very moving for South Africans unused to welcomes in Africa.

At the side a praise-singer calls into a microphone: "Yea-ay-ay!" The crowd responds with a delighted cry in Portuguese.

You are to hear the same cry over and over again.

A platoon of soldiers marches on to execute some exquisite drill movements, changing arms with AK-47 rifles, jackboot marching, slow time, ceremonial salutes to the podium.

Seven young boys, aged six to 14, walk on to the

parade ground from different directions and do a piece of poetry.

Later Dr Savimbi informs you all their fathers were killed in battle. What they were saying in Portuguese boils down to: "You must continue fighting, the Cubans must leave Angola, we don't want the MPLA."

The poignancy of orphans at Jamba is reinforced when you see 800 of them being given schooling on a blackboard in the bush.

Political correspondents, not hardened but certainly experienced, have tears in their eyes as Grade One children sing their freedom songs.

Most of them have parents who died fighting.

An arithmetic lesson goes: "If Unita captured 30 British, 15 Czechoslovaks, one Yugoslav and 40 Portuguese this year, how many foreigners did it get?"

A lesson in Portuguese grammar starts: "Portugal colonised Angola some time ago and they later left the country after handing it over to the MPLA."

That night Dr Savimbi hosts a dinner, fish-heads

fried with South African wines, beers and cold drinks. The irony of being served by bow-tied, black-suited guerilla fighters is hard to swallow.

Sleeping quarters are immaculately-kept huts, with beds, two blankets, sheets and pillow-cases. Clearly for foreign visitors only.

Before sleeping there is a mandatory "culture session" at the second stadium, a neon-lit place with chairs all around, a stage with curtains, a band in attendance.

There is a karate demonstration, some traditional dancing, a gymnastic display by the prettiest women in camp.

Everything is spread out everywhere, and to see anything in the town of Jamba, for it is as much a neat and ordered African town as it is a military camp, one needs to take a ride on the back of a four-wheel-drive vehicle through deep sand ruts which serve as roads.

Several times the Land Rover gets stuck and has to be pushed.

There's no money in Jamba, everyone simply works for the cause.

The next morning there's a visit to a uniform factory (they turn out 700 items a day, taking an hour for a pair of pants, 90 minutes for a shirt) then a Press conference with this charismatic leader.

He is clearly worshipped by his troops and the people at Jamba. He has thousands of fighters spread all over Angola, and claims to control a third of the country.

Most songs contain the rhythm Sa-vim-bi, the papers the masses wave are pictures of him.

He knew Che Guevara, shared digs with Samora Machel, spent a year in China, has a genuine doctorate (of philosophy), once walked 1400 km throughout Angola visiting his supporters.

He has addressed the US congress, met Mr P W Botha more than once.

He has a strange humility, a deep understanding of international politics, supports dialogue at all levels, says Africans must respect their differences instead of trying to force their philosophies on each other.

He says he will be in Luanda by December. He does not want big-power escalation ("Angola must not become another Poland"). He is convinced he will win the war because the people of Angola will support him.

For a guerilla camp in a State controlled by the enemy, Jamba is a hell of a place. Being woken politely with coffee by a guerilla fighter (if he was against us he would be called a terrorist) is one hell of an experience.

The civil war in Angola is hell itself.

PORTUGUESE REPORTER DESCRIBES EVERYDAY LIFE IN LUANDA

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 2 Aug 84 p 24

[Article by Anibal Mendonca, special correspondent: "Luanda Today: A City With Hunger and Thirst"]

[Text] Luanda--The agent, ensconced in his official booth, looked at me with piercing eyes and barked at me:

"You are a journalist?"

"According to my passport I am, sir," I said, upon detecting his fury, already tired after a long wait, due more to inefficiency than to excess of work.

"Do you have other supporting documentation?" he wanted to know.

He opens my briefcase, he closes my briefcase, takes a sheet of paper from here, a pen from over there; nervousness and suffocation are increasingly affecting my thoughts and my movements.

"Write in full all your names. If it is too long, you may write it in the margin," the guard replied.

I complied with instructions and returned to the line of passengers. The guard continued slowly reading the papers I had given him in duplicate.

"Pick up your bags and come back later to pick up your passport," he said after some minutes.

When I came back to get the passport, a guard was standing there majestically, wearing gold epaulets and calling out the names one by one.

I stood before the guard, waiting, my hand out. Several minutes went by and then, with no further ado, I received my passport.

It was almost midnight and the city was stifling. There were some distant lights but they seemed to be further away the closer we got to them.

I stayed at a seaside hotel a few feet from the port, and from the 18th floor the city did not have the dimension, the restlessness, the color I had known. Ten years



ago when I was there, there was a glimpse of the future, there was activity-- and all of it enlarged with the prospects of self-determination. For this reason, anyone who was born there, had lived there, had loved and suffered there, went about with a thousand concerns to prepare for tomorrow, so that improvisation, outside interests or incompetence would not put an end to everything.

### Orderly Soviets

The morning in the tropics is always pleasant. Especially by the water. So, eager and restless, I went looking for the beach. I was looking for an open space where I could get a drink. Nothing. The car sped along the highway and didn't stop until it reached a restaurant that was well known the other time I had been here. The "Barracuda," abandoned, deteriorating, also had closed its doors. No possibility of getting anything to eat or drink. I go looking for a place to bury memories. We try to park, but we are prevented. A tall man with very white skin, dressed in blue, orders me to follow him. I obey and I see dozens of blue uniforms, very carefully folded and lined up side by side, while their owners are lounging on the sand. An area of about 200 meters reserved for the Soviets to bathe.

So I find a place that to me seems attractive and I go into the water. Few people. One or two couples and a few Cubans and Yugoslavs. I can tell them by their speech and my friend who has come with me confirms it. People from other places and with nothing in common spending Saturday in the only feasible way.

In the afternoon I take a trip around the city by car. The automobile is driven carefully, to avoid falling into one of the holes of all sizes and all depths that are in almost all the streets. I am in a city full of potholes, dirty, disorganized. A friend, an air force pilot, one of those who had had in his bosom the dream of independence, well defined in all respects, tells me:

"Everyone is discontented. Nobody takes any position, no one is in charge. Everything is slipping and sliding, pushed by circumstances, without planning. You see that there is not enough to eat and, except for one or two items, everything costs a real fortune. The kwanza has exchange value only locally and if an average wage is 20,000 kwanzas, which in escudos would represent something like 100 contos, the truth is that a chicken costs 5,000 kwanzas and a pack of domestic-brand cigarettes, which has a price ceiling of 20 kwanzas, if you really want to buy, costs 200 to 250 kwanzas."

I go to the outskirts, to the indigenous neighborhoods. The rains that fell a few days earlier inundate everything. The smell of pestilence hovers in the air. I ask my friend, a man of this land, possibly a ditchdigger, what of his future:

"The rivers mix with the sewage, the rain that fell ruined some buildings, some animals drowned. The children and the old folks are the one who are hit the hardest. There aren't enough physicians and medicines are scarce. As you have seen, the drug stores have empty shelves. There is black-market medicine. One headache pill sometimes costs 100 kwanzas. Look, things are so bad that even a handful of "piripiri" [translation unknown] costs 50 kwanzas."

## Shortage of Fresh Foods

I go to the vegetable market, to the famous Quinaxixe (at least twice as big as the "Ribeira" in Lisbon). I don't see a single leaf of lettuce, or a bunch of watercress, any fresh vegetable. A monumental building, with three floors, completely empty. My friend does not wait for the question and with moistened eyes tells me:

"There is a shortage of fresh food, from vegetables to meat and milk. Our pastures should supply the world with meat, according to an OECD report made in 1972. Look at the situation now."

Always by car, I go now to the industrial zones. The factories produce when they can, if they have raw materials. Others are closed. My guide stops to talk with a man he knows:

"So, how are things going for you?" he begins...

"I'm waiting for flour to make fresh bread. I haven't had bread for days. The flour should arrive today. There is a shortage of flour."

On the Viana road, I note cars and trucks parked at the side of the road.

"They are broken down and the owners left them here... There are no parts. The vehicles have gone as far as they can. Parts are worth a fortune."

Heavy trucks, carrying passengers as well as freight, pass at high speed, although I have been told that the police are very strict about enforcing traffic laws. Many have caused accidents with death and injury and everywhere I see wrecked vehicles.

## Oil War

Petroleum is now the source of income. They assure me that the big companies have already paid the bill for 1986 production. But as always in the background there are diverse interests and a war is being waged between "faceless men" and with the most diverse ramifications.

In a "People's Warehouse" there are interminable lines. Men and women seated on the ground, almost silent. But the line will be there for hours. No one enters the warehouse; no one leaves the warehouse. There isn't anything to sell there. They are all there to get a good place in line.

At the end of the afternoon, I return to the hotel. A friend whom I meet occasionally asks me to telephone his relatives in Lisbon:

"Tell them that everything has changed. Only the bay is still blue."

In the hotel's dining room, where there is a concern about providing good service, only whites are seated at dinner. I ask for an aperitif while I am waiting for my meal and I bump into Lt Col Eurico Corvacho. They tell me he is in private

employment, in business. I don't want to know. He looks at me, trying to recall where and when he has seen me before. He doesn't succeed.

At night, again the deserted shoreline. I go to the airport, where my baggage is inspected minutely. The story of Kamanga, with various implications, causes care to be redoubled. Everywhere they talk about the absence of Iko Carreira, who they tell me lives in Rome like a prince. I board the plane.

Behind me lies the city, full of problems, a capital with hunger, with thirst, without health.

This lovely land has gone back many years. I can't estimate the regression, but it was great. We are 16 years away from the 21st century. And here, in this city and this country, it would seem, like in a terrible dream, that we have returned to 1900...

8834

CSO: 3442/458

# NORAD EXPRESSES WILLINGNESS TO FINANCE THREE PROJECTS

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 24 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Marx Garekwe]

[Text]

GABORONE, JULY 24: Canada and the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) have expressed willingness to finance three projects which are intended to benefit refugees living in Botswana, the Attorney General Mr Moleleki Mokama has said.

Mr Mokama disclosed this in an interview with BOPA on Friday on his return from Geneva, Switzerland where he had led a Botswana delegation to the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II).

The delegation presented five projects worth P5 million of which only three managed to attract donors while two others were described by possible donors as not properly dressed-up.

According to Mr Mokama, Canada promised to finance the establishment of the poultry market infrastructure and training in the raising and marketing of poultry in the Francistown area.

The cost of the project is estimated at about P405 405 for over a period of one year.

The other project which received a favourable nod from Canada was that of establishing health screening services at Dukwi.

The government of Botswana needs at least P135 135 over a period of one year for this project in order to ease the congestion at Jubilee Hospital in Francis-

town and the burden of screening incoming refugees and treatment of serious medical problems, he said.

According to the project memorandum, the screening services would be open to both refugees and nationals and would be especially intended to combat communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, venereal diseases and malnutrition.

NORAD promised to finance the establishment of a P368 550 tree nursery at Dukwi which is expected to supply the area with about 600 000 trees to plant on an area of some 600 hectares.

The two projects which did not get favourable responses were the construction of housing and offices for immigration officials at Bobonong at an estimated cost of P268 708.00, and the administrative technical and logistic support (police) estimated at P4 299 341.00 at Dukwi to be financed externally for over a period of three years.

During the interview, Mr Mokama said that his delegation explained to the conference that the influx of refugees into Botswana through the north eastern part made it necessary to build both housing and accommodation for Dukwi and seven other areas in northern and north eastern Botswana.

Also to assign some police duties such as documentation of refugees for identity cards.

Mr Mokama said the Botswana

delegation argued before the conference that the country's north eastern, south eastern and south western borders were very remote from main centres which compelled refugees to travel and traverse vast distances before they met the Botswana authorities to receive the help they desperately needed.

"If there are no facilities to cater for these refugees at the borders there is a possibility that sometime they may feel tempted to go back to their countries or tempt their countries to follow them and forcefully take them back without the knowledge of Botswana authorities," he said.

He added that the delegation argued that such activities might turn Botswana into a battle ground, a situation intolerable to the Botswana Government.

Mr Mokama explained that because these projects were not properly dressed up the donors had the impression that Botswana was attempting to expand her immigration and police force under the guise of refugee assistance.

He however stated that they have contacted the High Commissioner for Refugees about this and that they intended to recast the projects as soon as possible.

He added that they lobbied in the region of about 15 countries and most of them were willing to finance the projects.

Mr Mokama also said some of the approved projects might be started before the end of this year.

Other members of the delegation were the Under-Secretary in the Office of the President, Mr Isaac Gontse, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr Norman Moleboge and the Senior Social Counsellor for Refugees, Miss Mpho Makhena.

## LENTSWELETAU AGRICULTURAL SHOW SUCCESS

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 23 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Tom Obondo-Okoyo]

[Text]

DESPITE the fact that agriculture is no longer the mainstay of Botswana's economy, it is still the most important sector so far. Even when there is a constant influx of people from rural to urban areas, the country still remains overwhelmingly rural. About 80 per cent of the population live in the rural villages. For this reason the development of the rural areas of Botswana has been and will continue to be priority for the Government.

It was one reason why President Dr Quett Masire officiated at the opening of the Kweneng North District Show last week. The exhibits in the form of livestock and crops were a clear indication of the willingness of farmers to produce crops to enhance development.

The Government has consistently made efforts to set up schemes that are geared towards rural advancement and increased food production. In this vein, the farmers have been given incentives to improve their agricultural output through trained technical staff.

Agricultural institutions have played a noteworthy role in the production of trained middle-level manpower. There are several institutions for training in the Ministry of Agriculture. The Botswana Agricultural College, for instance, trains for certificates in agriculture and animal health.

Vocational training for meat inspection and slaughterhouse personnel is undertaken by the Meat Centre in Lobatse while the Ranch Management Centre in Ramatlabama trains ranch managers.

"These officers have been posted throughout the country in order to work with farmers and teach them improved production methods in both arable agriculture and livestock production," said President Masire when he addressed the show participants.

In 1978 the Ministry of Agriculture was responsible for a very large share of 80 per cent demand of certificate holder, and 95 per cent for

diplomates. The ministry also accounts for a higher number of the trained Botswana.

Localisation in the field of agricultural will depend to a large extent on the availability of qualified Botswana personnel. But plans are underway for localisation in the Planning and Statistics Division and in the Botswana Agricultural College.

Localisation in the Department of Animal Health and Agricultural Research had posed some difficulties owing to lack of students with a good science base for the necessary training, and also because of the long training lags involved.

"I am aware that we presently do not have sufficient manpower throughout the country to adequately service the farming population," said President Masire. "We will, however, continue to train more people and also to upgrade those already in the field so as to improve their skills and effectiveness."

The manpower ceilings for the ministry allowed for an increase from 355 "A" level staff and 772 "B" level staff in 1979/80 to 470 "A" level and 1 248 "B" level staff by 1984/85.

Agriculture as the backbone of the country's economy involves four-fifths of rural households. The aims of the agricultural policy are to raise national income by increasing the value of agricultural production, and to assist farmers to get good returns for secure livelihoods.

At the same time agriculture is intended to help create more livelihoods to meet the demands of a growing labour force for employment opportunities as well as maintaining agricultural land for future generations. In some cases, these aims are complementary, but some choices have to be made between strategies that meet different aims to different degrees.

Specifically, there may be basic choices between "small farmer" strategies that aim at employment and "large farmer" strategies that aim at production or profitability. It is not clear



whether large farmers use meagre resources more efficiently than small ones. Also it is not evident that concentration on large farmers would produce more output than concentration on small farmers.

Nevertheless, the significance of making sure that all Batswana can earn a living means that more attention should be paid to the task of improving both the standard of living and security of the small farmers.

The most difficult area of choice is between small farmers and non-farmers. A large number of rural people do not take part in farming activity because they lack resources such as land, draught power, labour and cattle. This group of households as well as remote area dwellers and many unmarried women with children, could take a very large proportion of the ministry's extension and organisational capacity for relatively little return in employment.

Botswana's agricultural economy is treble-fold; traditional farming which comprises 71 per cent of the country's areas that is tribal land; freehold farming in various blocks of freehold land that make up 5 per cent; and hunting and gathering which takes place almost everywhere and makes a contribution to the rural households' consumption.

Due to persistent drought in the last three years, the government has spent large sums of money on food imports and other commodities. This had to be done at the expense of other necessities such as schools, roads and health facilities.

"We are grateful that some of our friends in the international community have come to our assistance during this bad period. You will however, agree with me that we, as a nation, should not depend on others for our food. It is the duty of every household to ensure that it produces enough to feed itself," said President Masire.

The farming community has been advised to take advantage of agricultural personnel working in their areas. Through their co-operation, the farmers would learn new techniques and methods which would enable them to improve their farming enterprises.

The Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP) is a scheme whose ultimate aim is to assist small farmers who lack resources to improve their returns. It began as a loan-cum-subsidy project which enables farmers to obtain ploughs, planters and cultivators and also assist those who could not afford to buy oxen or donkeys. It also enables farmers to build underground water storage tanks and put fences around their lands. The farmer pays 15 per cent of the cost while the Government pays the balance - 85 per cent.

"Since the change to the new scheme," President Masire said, "already twenty farmers from Kweneng North have been assisted in obtaining different packages."

The Kweneng North District Agricultural Show was a crowd puller. Participants and exhibitors alike travelled from far distances. According to the Member of Parliament for Kweneng East, Mr David Magang, the show was important because of contributions from farmers in the area. An example of the farmers' contributions could be seen in the light of the construction of part of the showground fences with money from their own pockets.

Earlier this year, the Government found it necessary to help those crop farmers who had been adversely affected by inclement poor harvests. A decision was therefore taken to write-off the 1983 seasonal loans and also reschedule others. In addition, farmers will be assisted with botulism vaccine.

The small project scheme better known as the AE10 project, a grant project for giving assistance to groups of farmers with a view to establishing small production units has been successfully carried out. In this project, groups of farmers can obtain grants to the tune of P7 000. The farmers are required to provide 10 per cent of the cost of the project either in cash or in kind.

Agriculture is a vast field of life which cannot be covered in a brief moment. But the Kweneng North District Agricultural Show demonstrated one of the ways and means the government endeavours to boost production in this field.

# DROUGHT DECREASES MEAT PRODUCTION

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 25 Jul 84 p 2

[Text]

GABORONE, July 23: The prevailing drought conditions have rendered the combined kill of the two Botswana Meat Commissions (BMC) in Lobatse and Maun to be below the figure for last year, over the same period of the first quarter, according to the latest Botswana Beef Digest.

It is also reported that the overall kill slaughtered to March this year is 63 058 compared to the 71 655 recorded during the first quarter of 1983.

Of this total, 60 401 were slaughtered in Lobatse and 2 657 in Maun, says Beef Digest.

The average weight of the slaughtered animals is reported to have been lower, at 186 kg compared to 198 kg in 1983.

Beef Digest quotes the Public Relations Officer for the BMC, Mr Herman Gaboutloelwe as having attributed the poor performance at both abattoirs to the drought conditions, and that the normal stampede by farmers to dispose of stock had occurred in the early stages of the drought and that the situation had now levelled off.

He said that farmers in affected areas who had adopted a wait and see attitude had been overtaken by the prolonged drought

situation and now preferred to hold on to their animals rather than market them in poor conditions and fetch low prices.

The product of 49 033 cattle, was marketed in the European Economic Commission (EEC) countries and the rest from 11 369 animals went to South Africa, Hong Kong, Zaire and Mauritius.

The bulk of the Maun output, mainly frozen carcasses and boneless beef, went to Mozambique, according to the Botswana Beef Digest.

During the same period, it is also reported, 326 500kg of boneless beef were transferred to the cannery.

The by-product plant production is reported to be 12 419 (50kg) bags of carcase meal, 3 425 bags of bone meal and 4 106 (180kg) drums of tallow. While output at the Cannery was 60 421 hides, 2 237 sheep skins, 2 540 goat skins and 268 603 kg hide trimmings.

Sale of Ecco beef in continental Europe, it says, has risen from almost nil three years ago to 50 per cent of Botswana's total EEC sales.

Germany is reported to be an important buyer in the expanded market

CS0: 3400/2025



BRIEFS

SOVIET ARMS--During the month of May, military equipment of Soviet origin (ammunition, wheeled and tracked armoured vehicles and tanks) unloaded at Pointe Noire. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 20]

CHINESE AGREEMENT--An agreement has been signed between Li Pingming, economic attache to the Chinese embassy in Congo, and Joseph Surlabout, Defence Ministry Logistics Section commander. Under the supervision of Chinese technicians, a military academy is to be built at a location 22 kilometers outside of Brazzaville. The Economic Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy and the head of the logistics department of the Congolese Defence Ministry signed an agreement on the construction of a military academy; the academy, to be sited 22km outside Brazzaville, will be able to accommodate 300 students. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 20]

CUBAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE--The Congolese Planning Minister, Pierre Moussa, is also in Cuba at the head of a delegation that was invited to visit Havana by Humberto Perez, president of the Cuban Central Planning Board. The Congolese group has come to exchange information with the economic planning organisations of Cuba. Cuba and the Congo have stated that the tense situation in southern Africa is the result of the aggressive policy of the United States and South Africa. A joint communique was issued in Brazzaville at the end of the official, friendly visit to Congo by the foreign minister, Isidoro Malmeirca. The communique states the need for the non-aligned African countries and the world's progressive forces effectively to support the struggle of the Namibian and South African patriots that is directed by SWAPO and the African National Congress of South Africa. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 20]

CSO: 3400/2034

## ETHIOPIA

### BRIEFS

CZECH-MADE ALBATROS TRAINER AIRCRAFT--Ten craft have been put into service in the Ethiopian Air Force. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 12]

CSO: 3400/2031

FORMER PRESIDENT PRAISES PORTUGUESE COOPERATION

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 3 Aug 84 p 3

[Text] Luis Cabral, former president of Guinea-Bissau, told ANOP [AGENCIA NOTICIOSA PORTUGUESA] that he considers our country "one of the most suitable partners for cooperation that helps Africa to overcome its difficulties," adding that he thinks there is yet much to be done in relations between Portugal and African countries whose official language is Portuguese.

Amilcar Cabral's brother said he is glad that the good relations he always tried to maintain between Guinea-Bissau and Portugal when he was president are continuing.

In regard to the current difficulties in Lisbon-Luanda relations--which in his time he tried to make smoother, arranging the meeting in Bissau between presidents Ramalho Eanes and Agostinho Neto in June 1978--Luis Cabral stressed his desire that Angola may eventually live in peace, so that Luso-Angolan relations can be stabilized.

Regarding the situation in his own country, the former adjutant secretary general of the PAIGC [African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] asserted that President Joao Bernardo Vieira is the person around whom normalization of life in Guinea-Bissau must take place in order to solve current economic problems.

Asked about the events that, during the first quarter of this year, led to the resignation of Prime Minister Vitor Saude Maria, Luis Cabral commented: "A coup d'etat never solved any problem. Those now in power in Guinea-Bissau have been trying to get rid of individuals, which so far they have not been able to do."

Regarding the possibility of some day returning to Bissau, which he left in 1981 after his overthrow and 1 year in prison, Luis Cabral said: "As a Guinean, I should like to live in Guinea-Bissau, but with all the dignity that is due me as a founder of the PAIGC, a fighter for the nation's freedom and its first chief of state."

In the meantime, however, the author of "Chronicle of Freedom" (a book with 464 pages and some photographs introduced to the public in Lisbon yesterday by Lt Col Melo Antunes) has been living here in the Portuguese capital since January, and is

devoting his time essentially to writing. He hopes to have his second book, covering the first 6 years of Guinea-Bissau independence, ready by the end of this year.

"Chronicle of Freedom," now introduced in the Portuguese market, relates the story of the PAIGC through the assassination of Amilcar Cabral early in 1973 and will be translated into French. The author went to Paris recently to discuss this matter with two interested publishing houses.

Meanwhile, in Bissau yesterday the president of Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira, put off taking a position on creation of an "escudo zone" until after Joao Bernardo Vieira, president of Guinea Bissau, has put this problem at the level of the five African countries whose official language is Portuguese.

Speaking to newsmen at the Bissau airport during a service stop for the aircraft that was taking him from Angola to Cape Verde, Aristides Pereira said: "We are aware that President Bernardo Vieira has mentioned creation of an escudo zone, but we can be expected to take a position only if and when he puts this problem at the level of the Five."

8834

CSO: 3442/458

## BRIEFS

JONATHAN ON NONALIGNMENT POLICY--Lesotho will continue to gain new friends from both the east and the west within the context of its non-alignment policy. This was stated by the Prime Minister Dr Leabua Jonathan at a pitso at Ha Leboto in the Mpharane constituency at the weekend. He emphasised that in making friends with these countries Lesotho will not be inheriting either capitalism or socialism. The Prime Minister said it is these meaningful friendships which result in Lesotho getting assistance from her friends in her time of need. He said that those who think he is adopting communism as an ideology are completely mistaken. Dr Jonathan said that the government dedicated to catering for the welfare of Basotho nation. He promised the people of Ha Leboto that the government would provide roofing for a new school being built by the community in the area and that the government would look into the possibility of getting funds to improve the road that serves the place. These were included in the requests for assistance made to the Prime Minister by the people of Ha Leboto. Lately ambassadors from several countries with which Lesotho has established new ties have been presenting credentials to His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II in Maseru. [Text] [Maseru LESOTHO WEEKLY in English 20 Jul 84 p 1]

AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS COST--The Lesotho Agricultural Development Bank used a record sum of M236,000 to support various agricultural projects in the country during the first six months of this year. In a statement released in Maseru this week, the bank said that more than M112,000, representing 48% of the total was used in the procurement of several tractors and their implements, tractors repairs, fuel and the purchase of other agricultural machinery. M50,000 was made available to the Lesotho Co-operative Credit Union League to strengthen its lending base to its member cooperatives interested in agriculture. Five chicken and egg production projects received about M34,500 financial back-up. The loan covered the purchase of poultry feed, equipment and housing. Several dairy cows and dairy housing units were also purchased by the bank on behalf of three farmers. The statement has added that following the good showers in April the bank released M13,000 to assist cooperatives for winter cropping. [Text] [Maseru LESOTHO WEEKLY in English 27 Jul 84 p 1]

CSO: 3400/2033

## MNR HARASSMENT BRINGS NO PEACE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Jul 84 p 3

[Text]

**MAPUTO —** Four months after the signing of the Nkomati Accord Mozambique is still bleeding.

Almost daily attacks on road and rail traffic continue in nine of the country's 10 provinces and officials in Maputo say as many as 8 000 "armed bandits" may still be at large.

The Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) gunmen have become increasingly aggressive since the signing of the accord which, Mozambique says, was intended to cut off their supplies and direction from South Africa.

Far from being isolated fugitives waiting to be mopped up, the rebels are operating in groups of 100 or more.

Their attacks have moved southwards to Maputo province with reports that, early this month, a group tried unsuccessfully to free prisoners from a jail on the outskirts of the capital.

**MOTORISTS WARNED**

Maputo city has been left without power several times lately after the MNR sabotaged power lines from South Africa. Motorists are being warned to use the road between Maputo and the South African border post at Komatipoort only between 9 am and 4 pm.

At least seven South Africans in two parties were ambushed on the road late on the afternoon of June 10 after being delayed at the border.

The official Mozambican news agency, AIM, describes the

situation in the north, particularly in Nampula province, as "very serious".

Transport routes, including the vital railway line to Malawi, were virtually closed, the agency said.

Truck convoys using the highway through Mozambique's Tete province from Harare to Blantyre have been attacked despite strong escorts of Zimbabwean troops in armoured trucks.

Tete city relies for the bulk of its supplies on 60-truck convoys which run a gauntlet of ambushes from Beira.

The massive Cahora Bassa power scheme is still producing only a fraction of its potential output because technicians have been unable to repair the power lines to South Africa. These run through western Mozambique, one of the war's "hottest" areas.

AIM said this week that MNR violence had crossed the border into South Africa.

An Eastern Transvaal farmer was murdered by two MNR gunmen and the SADF had been involved in a shootout with an MNR band in the Eastern Transvaal, the agency said.

The South African Police said subsequently that there was evidence of MNR involvement in the farmer's killing but the SADF flatly denied that any clash involving helicopters had occurred in the border area.

"For years the South African Government helped to create and direct a monster whose day-to-day practice has been the most vicious terrorism," AIM said.

# WHERE THE VIOLENCE STILL GOES ON

This map illustrates the geographical context of ongoing violence in southern Africa. It covers parts of Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. Key locations and events are marked:

- Tanzania:** Located at the top, with a 'TANZANIAN CAMP CAMP' marked near the border.
- Mozambique:** Occupies the central and right portions of the map. A dotted line indicates a 'PIPELINE' running from the east coast towards the interior.
- Zimbabwe:** Shown on the left side of the map.
- South Africa:** Located at the bottom, with a 'SOUTH AFRICAN FARMER MURDERED' incident noted near the border.
- Attacks and Ambushes:** Indicated by star symbols. Notable locations include:
  - Harare:** 'ZIMBABWEAN TROOPS AMBUSHED WHILE ESCORTING CONVICTS TO MALAWI'.
  - Beira:** 'POWER LINES ATTACKED'.
  - Inhambane:** 'SOUTH AFRICAN CARS AMBUSHED'.
  - Maputo:** 'ATTACKS AND AMBUSHES AROUND MAPUTO'.
- Other Features:** 'Mozambique Railway' is shown as a dotted line. 'Attacks and Ambushes Around Maputo' is highlighted in a box. 'Mozambique Tourism' is noted at the bottom.

**Legend:**

- PIPELINE (dotted line with cross-ticks)
- RAILWAY (dotted line)
- ROAD (solid line)
- POWER LINES (dashed line)
- ATTACKS AMBUSHES (star symbol)

The agency concluded that the effects of the MNR campaign might "live on for decades".



# INTEREST IN OFFSHORE OIL EXPLORATION MARRED BY MNR ATTACKS

## MNR Attacks Pose Threat

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Stephen McQuillan]

[Text]

**Mozambican guerillas killed a number of East German oil field technicians in an attack on a scientific group operating south of the Pande gas fields, it has been disclosed.**

The attack is expected to send waves of alarm around the world's major oil companies, as they scramble for a stake in Mozambique's expected offshore bonanza.

The guerillas, believed to be members of the Mozambique National Resistance movement, attacked the group as it carried out seismic tests in an area thought to hold reserves of oil.

News of the attack came from Maputo today, as Mozambique gears up for huge on and offshore exploration to tap potentially "massive" oil and gas reserves.

The oil plans were disclosed exclusively in *The Star*.

But the attack underlines to the world's major oil companies the dangers of exploration in a country ruled in part by forces outside the control of Maputo.

An American oil company spokesman based in Maputo said the East German crew, which started operations in April, had to abandon its work

south of the Pande gas strikes after guerillas attacked and killed technical staff.

"They have made several on-shore gas discoveries in the past, south of Beira, but it is almost impossible to fully develop these areas because of guerilla activities," he told *24 Hours*.

Oil companies around the world have been bidding against each other in a scramble to secure plum drilling areas off the Mozambique coast — potentially one of the biggest fields in Africa.

When the drilling starts, it will be the country's first major exploration effort in more than a decade, *24 Hours* was told.

Twenty-two exploration companies — including several American giants — have bought bid documents since bidding opened in January 1983, say sources in Europe.

The tenders for petroleum rights on 17 offshore blocks were opened in London on March 31 this year.

It is understood that there were bids on more than half of them — and all bids entail commitments to exploration and drilling.

An internationally-recognised

regional energy expert, who cannot be named for professional reasons, said the country had potentially massive oil reserves.

But as the nation awaits an oil bonanza, several issues threaten the industry.

Oil industry experts say security nightmares, hassles over investment guarantees and logistical problems have held up development.

Maputo is expected to announce new trade and investment agreements within the next few weeks, but it is not known if the guarantees will go far enough to keep oil companies happy.

Sources in Johannesburg say oil companies were unhappy about guarantees from the Mozambicans on safety from Mozambique National Resistance attacks.

Geophysical investigations over the 17 offshore blocks were carried out between September 1981 and May 1982 by Geco of Norway and Western Geophysical of the USA.

This was the most important step towards a national oil industry since the inconclusive drilling of the 1960s and early 1970s.



## Race on for Oil

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jul 84 p 20

[Article by Stephen McQuillan in "24 Hours" column]

[Text]

Japan will this month join the race for a stake in Mozambique's expected oil bonanza as oil companies around the world mark out their territory for several years of exploration.

The Japanese National Oil Corporation is set to start a seismic survey in the Bay of Bazaruto after winning exploration rights in March, the 24 Hours team was told.

The work, contracted to Western Geophysical, should last until October.

And, with at least 22 oil companies now interested in Mozambican offshore exploration, a flurry of activity is expected over the next two years.

The last oilwell was drilled in Mozambique in early 1972 as Elf Aquitaine completed its drilling programme and pulled out. Hardly any effort has been made to tap the country's potentially abundant reserves since.

Possibly the most significant step since the country's independence in 1975 was a \$60 million deal this year between Esso Oceanic SA, Shell Development BV and the government, involving exploration rights in a 13 200 sq km block over the Rovuma basin in the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

Sources in Johannesburg say several South African executives have been visiting Mozambique regularly during the

past few months, many flying to Pemba, in the north.

"A couple of weeks ago there was a lot of excitement in Pemba," said a Johannesburg pilot. "In the last six months several South African companies have been active in Mozambique.

"We have to fly because there is hardly any other means of communication. It's the only suitable way if you require a reliable equipment supply."

An internationally respected energy expert in South Africa said it was logical that oil companies should have South African companies with interests in the country as agents. "Oil companies usually involve a reliable local company to arrange good supply routes and offer advice on how to establish themselves in that country. They would probably go in as partners.

"All the west and east coasts of Southern Africa have potential," he said. "Favourable geological formations indicate oil-bearing structures. It is likely they will ultimately find oil in Mozambique."

Professor Richard Dingle of the marine geo-science unit at the University of Cape Town said: "The whole oil exploration industry in Mozambique has been dormant since independence but now they enticing the international companies back.

"This has been going on for a year or so at the most, but there has been no release of data. I would say the potential off the coast of Mozambique is very good.

"One can establish from geological structure good areas to explore — like the river mouths of the Zambezi and the Limpopo. If it is established that hydrocarbons deposits are off the coast of Mozambique, they could contain a lot of oil."

The possibility of finding oil was good — especially at the mouths of the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers.

### INDICATE

The country's offshore geological formations and existing seismic data indicate that Mozambique has the potential to become a Nigeria or Cabinda of the southern sub-continent.

This view is supported by Exxon oil company which produced a report several years ago outlining one of the prime objectives of the Soviet Union's Africa policy.

A French newspaper reported that Exxon had moved the future world oil reserves from the Middle East to Africa and Latin America.

It said geological studies had confirmed that exceptional oil reserves were to be found in several African countries — including Mozambique.

Exxon predicted the country could join Nigeria and Angola as a major producer.

Exploitable gas reserves — at the very least — seem certain. A well blowout in the Pande area in the mid-1960s blew a hole nearly 100 m deep and the width of two rugby fields. It was burning for about 18 months before flames were extinguished by flooding the area with water.

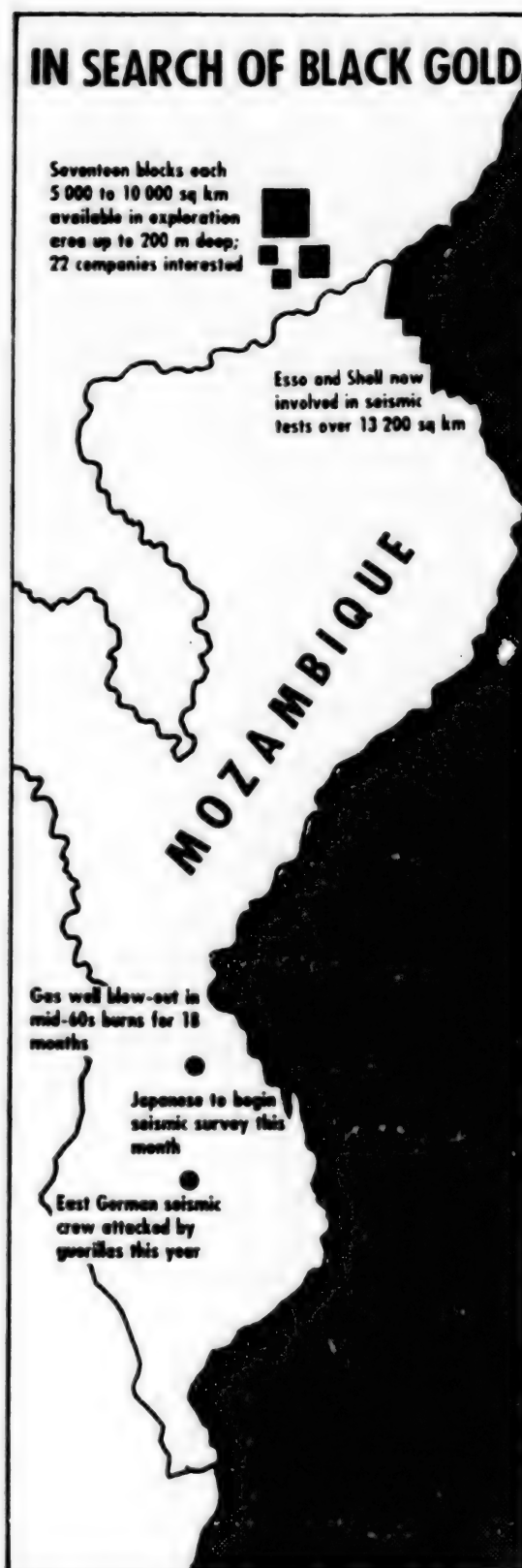
The gas strikes were abandoned by the international exploration companies who were primarily looking for oil.

Technicians noted black smoke — indicating deposits of oil.

The present offshore exploration area is up to 200 m deep and is divided into 17 blocks of 5 000 or 10 000 sq km. It is about as far as offshore exploration is practical because of the country's steep continental shelf which, in places, drops from the coast to a depth of 2 000 m some 100 km at sea.

Despite the country's problems — involving logistics, the economy, security and hard negotiators within the oil industry — Mozambique is optimistic.

"I am convinced we will discover oil in commercial quantities — it is only a matter of time," said Secretary of State for Hydrocarbons Mr Abdul Osman when bidding opened on the 17 offshore blocks.



## **Collapsing Economy Starved of Oil**

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jul 84 p 20

[Text]

**Mozambique desperately needs its own oilfields.**

**The country's collapsing economy does not allow it to buy all the petroleum it needs. Nor are Russian tankers meeting what it requires.**

**The fuel squeeze has crippled transport services as a result.**

**The decline in foreign exchange earnings in 1983 was reflected in a 21 percent fall in overall imports, according to Africa Research Bulletin.**

**Oil imports fell by more than 80 percent — from 641 000 tons to 105 000 tons — hitting industry particularly hard.**

**Mozambique's Minister of Finance, Mr Rui Baltazar, says imports are expected to remain at the same level this year.**

**To minimise the effects on the economy, the government is planning to concentrate industrial rehabilitation and fuel allocations in priority sectors.**

### **CUTBACK IN AIR TRAVEL**

**Another major cause of disruption is the destruction of the biggest fuel storage area in Beira.**

**Consumption levels have been set for the main oil users, and domestic air travel cut.**

**The Norwegian Agency for International Development this year offered R20 million for development projects, including petroleum exploration.**

**The refinery in Maputo, nationalised in 1977, can handle about 800 000 tons of crude oil a year, but production was only 374 000 tons in 1976, compared with 519 000 tons in 1974 — though production increased to an estimated 623 000 tons in 1978.**

**In 1981 a State enterprise, the Empresa Nacional de Hidrocarbonetos (ENH) was granted exclusive rights for exploration, production and exportation of oil and gas. But the gas deposits found on land before independence are still awaiting investments.**

CSO: 3400/2024

## HIDROMOC TO FINISH WATER TREATMENT STATION

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 17 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] HIDROMOC will complete installation of a water-treatment station next August at its Maputo facilities. It will have a capacity of about 12 cubic meters and is intended for practical training of future technicians.

The installation, which was begun last month, will be used mainly to provide internship, with practical classes, for future water technicians from industrial schools and the Vocational Training Center of the National Water Directorate.

The undertaking, which is at a fairly advanced stage of completion, is the responsibility of a technical group specializing in works of this type.

With construction of the pumping station the HIDROMOC students will not only learn about their specialty, which is techniques of water treatment, but will also get practical experience in this kind of construction.

Training of students in this specialty will no longer be essentially theoretical, explained Antonio Munguambe, secretary of the labor-union committee of HIDROMOC.

### Blueprints

Within a few days a blueprint-reading course will also be introduced. It will be 2 months long and will be attended by 10 students. The teachers are Mozambican technicians and a Bulgarian specialist.

According to the source of our information, all these activities are included in HIDROMOC's supplementary plans in salute to "25 September," the date on which goals are to be reached.

The supplementary plans also include repair of 10 electrical and motor-driven pumps that belong to agricultural companies in Matutuine, Maputo Province, which have been out of use due to damages caused by cyclone Demoina, which recently devastated the southern region of the nation.

Antonio Munguambe added that a metal reservoir with capacity for 20 cubic meters of water ordered by the Manica Citrus-Fruit Agro-Industrial Directorate will be completed by September.

## BRIEFS

CHIMOIO SELF-DEFENSE TRAINING--As part of the strategy for resisting aimed bandits and especially to defend their own lives and possessions in case of attacks by such criminals, about 65 percent of the population of the Manica provincial capital went through self-defense training in the several courses conducted for that purpose. Meanwhile, this activity was recently introduced in the city's residential neighborhoods. This means that residents of a given neighborhood train right where they live. So far about eight neighborhoods are involved, while others are preparing to begin training. Moreover, the chairman of the Executive Council of the City of Chimoio, in commemorating 12 July, City Day, asserted that the public is deeply aware of the urgent need to put a halt to armed banditry in the nation. This need is felt in that province, so that public vigilance and training of the people in politico-military preparation, given in the form of self-defense, must be stepped up. According to this official, so far the results are quite evident, based upon the reports made by residents of the city when they find persons with improper behavior, anti-social and otherwise, the so-called unarmed bandits. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 17 Jul 84 p 16] 8834

INHAMBANE SELF-DEFENSE TRAINING--It was reported from Inhambane that over 1,000 persons, including workers and the public of that provincial capital, have been trained in self-defense courses. The courses were sponsored by the Defense Department of the Party Committee in the city of Inhambane, in salute to the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation. In the locality of Jangamo, district of Inhambane, a course was also conducted in self-defense, attended by workers of the ROMOS [expansion unknown] and CFM [Mozambique Railroad] companies. The participants contributed 2,000 meticals to help the orphan children sheltered in the Muile neighborhood of the capital city. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE in Portuguese 25 Jul 84 p 16] 8834

CSO: 3442/458

BRIEFS

APPEAL NOT TO CLOSE RAIL--Windhoek--The executive committee for Whites in SWA has appealed to the Administrator General, Dr Willie van Nieker, not to close railway sections in the territory until completion of a survey on national transport policy. The committee's chairman, Mr Kosie Pretorius, said in a statement here yesterday that the second-tier ethnic authorities, particularly that of Whites, were the primary interest groups in the issue. They should be recognised in attempts to resolve the rail transport question. South African Transport Services officials informed residents in SWA in recent weeks that the branch lines to Luderitz in the south Gobabis in the east and Outjo in the north-west would be closed down from September 1 unless Dr Van Niekerk decided otherwise.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 10]

CSO: 3400/2033



SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

PRESIDENT ON NATION'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 25 Jul 84 pp 4-5

[Text of interview with President Manuel Pinto da Costa, by Pascoal Francisco, for the Angolan news agency ANGOP, in Sao Tome in July 1984]

[Text] Sao Tome--The achievements of Sao Tome and Principe [STP] since the proclamation of national independence and the cooperation between the five African countries in which Portuguese is the official language were among the topics addressed by President Manuel Pinto da Costa in an interview granted to the Angolan news agency ANGOP on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of his country's independence, celebrated on 12 July.

The president of the MLSTP [Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe] and of the Democratic Republic of the same name reaffirmed the support of the Sao Tomian people for the peace initiatives undertaken in southern Africa by the People's Republic of Angola.

ANGOP: Comrade President, would you please give us an accounting of the major political, socioeconomic and cultural accomplishments since the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe [RDSTP]?

M.P.C.: It is easy to give an accounting of our struggle in these last 9 years and of our achievements and failures, but it is also difficult because, to really understand what this struggle meant, what was achieved and what was not achieved, you have to consider where we started from. We started with virtually nothing. Zero in terms of organization. In 1975 we had the MLSTP, which had led the Sao Tomian people to independence but which was not yet adequately structured. And we know that to confront a process as complex as national reconstruction and the struggle against underdevelopment, the organizational aspect and, above all, the existence of a revolutionary vanguard are highly important.

Moreover, to examine the results of these 9 years of independence, you also have to take into consideration that we are talking about a country which, in 1975, had no cadres at all. Suffice it to say that in 1975 we could have counted college-graduated national cadres on the fingers of one hand.

What's more, given the general shortage of cadres, these technical cadres were also obliged to exercise functions of a political nature.

In examining our 9 years of independence, we also have to bear in mind the whole political climate that normally exists following independence, with various arguments, various debates in our society, the purpose of which was to determine what path to take and to define the choices that must be made in conducting the country's development process.

Despite all this, these 9 years of independence have been, both for our leaders and for our people in general, an exhilarating period of apprenticeship in the exercise of government. It has been a period in which our people began to take up and manage their lives and plan for their future.

Regarding the accumulated experiences and the creation of the conditions to free ourselves from the shackles of socioeconomic underdevelopment, we could say that, after 9 years, we are still at the preparatory school level. We have not yet entered the university. Still, the balance is positive. The balance sheet for these years--tallying both successes and failures because they are both important to this process of apprenticeship in the exercise of government--allows us to say what we have achieved in these 9 years of struggle. We have achieved it by virtue of the political engagement of our people, the determination of the people of Sao Tome and Principe, who initiated the process of creation, gestation and "birth" of 12 July, which also created the possibility, the motivation and the impetus for all our economic and social achievements during these 9 years of independence.

Thanks to this, we can say that, in economic, social and political areas, we have had some highly important accomplishments.

In the economic area, despite all the problems, the lack of funds and cadres, we have managed to lay a strong foundation which will enable us to develop the country in accordance with the real aspirations of the people of Sao Tome and Principe.

In 1975, all the economic power was concentrated in the hands of the colonists; after independence, through the nationalizations, our people began to exercise economic power. The entire economy, what is basic to our economy, is now in the hands of the people. Thanks to this action, if we examine some aspects of our economic activity, specifically the agriculture sector, we can say that, although we have had problems with low production rates, related to such factors as inexperience, a cadre shortage, weather conditions, we have nonetheless managed, through accumulated experience, to create very good conditions for the effective pursuit of economic development in our country.

In the economic area, we can also say that [despite] the difficulties and shortages, we have managed to solve some problems in the lives of our people, problems of meeting the material needs of our people. Today, in every corner of our country, there are homes with electric power and piped water on all the farms; today, at the nurseries existing in all the agricultural enterprises, our children are being fed at least two meals a day, to mention only a few of the economic strides we have made in our country.

We have made great strides in the social area. We need only say that in 1973/1974 we had barely 24 students attending secondary school. Today over a thousand people are studying at secondary schools. Every child in our country has access to primary school. Incidentally, we have free education from nursery school through secondary school, and more than 99 percent of the children in the RDSTP are attending classes. So it can be said that, today, more than 80 percent of our population can read and write, which is a very important achievement.

We are also conducting a literacy campaign, which will enable us to eradicate illiteracy completely within a short time. I mentioned earlier that we have a cadre shortage. Whereas we once had an average of 25 students abroad, today we have over 500 students attending various universities in friendly countries. So we have good prospects for training cadres in due course to guarantee our development process.

Also in the social area, there have been many important actions, such that if had to rely on our own economic means to buy them, they would exceed our economic capacity, in terms of any real possibility of meeting the aspirations set forth in the laws and documents we have promulgated.

However, we have made a very great effort and we are convinced that, despite the difficulties, we will achieve--we are achieving--what we have planned to do in the social area. I will give you an example. We have a social security law which is one of the most advanced that we know of. In the colonial era, the worker had no future; there was only the present. He worked as long as he had the strength and, after that, he had no very sure guarantees in his old age.

Today, everyone who works in STP has insurance for his old age. He has the right to a pension, a guarantee of assistance. All the children of workers have the right to a pension; even if those workers die, their children will have the right to benefit from this pension until they have completed their education. In colonial times, women had no rights (it was women who suffered the most); today women have social guarantees if they are pregnant. They can take a month's leave before delivery and another month afterward. If it was a complicated birth, the woman has 45 more days. So...it is a law which enables our people to view the future with some assurance and not be a burden to others.

It is a law that takes care of the age-old concerns of the people of the RDSTP.

In the labor area, we are trying to guarantee employment for everyone. Obviously, this is impossible in an underdeveloped country like ours, but most of our people today are able to earn a livelihood.

We have the same guarantees in the health field. Health care is free in STP and medical care and medicines are also free. Everyone has the right to medical assistance. Today we can say that, in Principe, for example, with a population of 5,000, we have a hospital bed for every 150 inhabitants, and everyone may see a physician at least once or twice a month. We have hospitals in every

district. There are minimally equipped infirmaries in our companies, to provide care to the workers.

At the moment we are struggling with a severe shortage of medicines, but we feel this is a temporary problem.

We have had important political successes. I told you that, in 1975, the MLSTP was very poorly organized. Today we have MLSTP structures in place in all sectors of national life. The MLSTP plays an important role in mobilizing and enlightening our people, in motivating them to implement the decisions of the MLSTP Central Committee for the execution of our development plans.

If you could talk to any citizen, you would observe that he knows what is going on in the world; he is informed; his level of political awareness has developed considerably beyond what it was before 1975.

ANGOP: Would you focus on the MLSTP's experience as the vanguard of the people of STP?

M.P.C.: This experience has been quite rich. I mean to say that there is no struggle without an ideal, and those who do not dream cannot achieve anything. Before our independence, we had a goal, the primary and immediate goal of independence, that is, to liberate the people from colonial oppression. After independence, the goal was to create the conditions to improve the material and spiritual standard of life for our people. Obviously, between the ideal and reality, the ideal cannot always be materialized in the real world.

Our experience with the MLSTP tells us that popular mobilization is, in fact, a decisive factor in achieving any goal. If the people are not mobilized, if the people are not enlightened, if the people do not follow the guidelines of their vanguard MLSTP, it will never be possible to turn these ideals into reality. This is the lesson we have learned from experience.

And the experience we have gathered during these 9 years as an organization has also taught us, in the particular case of STP, that it is absolutely vital to bring together all our forces to confront this gigantic problem of underdevelopment. In other words, the patriotic forces throughout the nation which are really interested in developing the country, in freeing the country from underdevelopment, all the citizens who are truly interested in improving their own living conditions and those of the people in general, must be brought together within the organization, to bring about, that is, to realize the aspirations of our people for material and spiritual betterment.

This is why, in the First Congress, we defined the MLSTP as the bosom of democratic, patriotic, anticolonialist and anti-imperialist forces. This means, then, that all the people, every citizen who is really struggling for true independence, who wants to see STP truly independent, who wants to see the people of STP control their own lives, now and in the future, all these people have a place in the MLSTP, regardless of their political beliefs.

--Because we wanted to create a more effective and united front for this development process and this struggle against underdevelopment.



ANGOP: Mr President, [what are] the premises for transforming the MLSTP into a vanguard party?

M.C.P.: The premises for the MLSTP's transformation into a vanguard party are being created as the MLSTP is functioning and acquiring experience. Premises do not fall out of the sky. Well, during all this process, we are creating these premises for the fortification of the MLSTP and its transformation into a party. Today, in fact, the MLSTP answers the real needs of our people. The MLSTP is not yet a party; it does not describe itself as a party. It is a front and will remain a front for some time to come. We are not going to turn the MLSTP into a party just to satisfy our personal ideal. We have to consider the objective and subjective realities of the country, and these realities tell us that we should keep the MLSTP as a democratic front which unites all Sao Tomians.

ANGOP: The strategic location of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe make this country a target of imperialist cupidity. Are the threats against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sao Tome and Principe persisting?

M.C.P.: Listen. All the countries in the world, particularly the underdeveloped countries, all these countries which are of particular strategic interest, are always coveted. And if they are always coveted, the aggression against these countries could be more or less intense, depending on their importance. A country's strategic importance cannot be measured simply in military or economic terms. In the specific case of Sao Tome and Principe, it is highly important strategically, and hence it is coveted. And if it is coveted, naturally it must be defended; if you are threatened you defend yourself.

Considering the strategic location of Sao Tome and Principe, considering the existing balance of power, we must define an appropriate and specific policy which takes into account this whole role which I have just indicated. This is why the MLSTP Central Committee defined nonalignment as the basic orientation of our foreign policy. For the same reason, we must try to develop our relations with all the countries of the world, regardless of their political beliefs, their ideologies. We must try to dynamize our relations with all these countries, based, naturally on principles and on mutual advantages.

As I said earlier, all the countries in the same circumstances as ours and those which are struggling for real and true independence are more or less threatened, depending on the strategic advantages which these countries might represent in terms of potential wealth.

ANGOP: Comrade President, how would you describe the current status of relations between the RDSTP and the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] and what are the prospects for these relations in the future?

M.P.C.: I have difficulty describing the current relationship between the RPA and the STP, and for a simple reason: if I search for phrases and terms to describe these relations, I cannot come up with any, because, in fact, the relations are of a kind that could almost be called "sui generis" (unique). If I say these relations are excellent, this is too weak a word; if we look at these relations in practice, it is the practice of these relations which

leads us to say that they are, in fact, "sui generis." There must be very few countries in the world with similar relations. We could just say, for example, that Angola is a country under attack by South Africa and, despite all the problems it is having with this aggression, with a struggle that has been going on for 20 years against the imperialist forces, specifically South Africa, despite the effect of this aggression on Angola's national reconstruction, despite all these problems, the RPA has given invaluable support to STP.

I will give you another example. Angola has difficulties with transport means, but it helps STP out with transportation. Any time we have a problem of any kind, even though our Angolan comrades have their own problems to solve, they always come to our aid. Well, we rarely encounter this kind of sacrifice for others. It is this spirit of sacrifice on behalf of others that characterizes the relations between the RPA and the RDSTP. And we are convinced that if all African countries acted in the same spirit in their relations, we could really achieve solid unity on the African continent, unity which would be indestructable.

Regarding our future relations, considering the present ones, it is almost unnecessary to say how they will develop. The prospects are excellent. The joint commission met recently and at this meeting some specific actions were studied for intensifying cooperation between our two countries. The prospects are good in all areas, economic and social, and in the political area, where a relationship existed even before national independence.

ANGOP: Comrade President, how do you see the relations among the African countries in which Portuguese is the official language?

M.P.C.: The relations among the Portuguese-speaking countries on the African continent are also "sui generis," bearing in mind that our five countries struggled against a common enemy and that all our parties, all our movements, have common goals. This means that, among our five countries, the political and psychological conditions were created for a relationship which could serve as a model for relations among African countries.

We coordinate our actions at various summit conferences. We have the honor of holding the fifth summit meeting here in STP at the end of this year, and we are convinced that this will enable us to consolidate the relations among us even more firmly.

We believe that the current situation in southern Africa, which specifically affects Angola and Mozambique, is a limiting factor in this cooperation of the "Five," but we are convinced that, once this limiting factor is eliminated, we will have stronger cooperation among our five countries and will even coordinate our social-economic development.

ANGOP: And how would you describe relations between STP and Portugal?

M.P.C.: First of all, the relations are different from what they were in 1973/1974. Sao Tome and Principe was a Portuguese colony. We won our independence in 1975, and the relationship between STP and Portugal automatically changed. While we were struggling for our liberation, we were always privileged to



to stress that we were fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people. This is a familiar phrase and it was used by all our movements (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and STP). What I am saying, then, is that our struggle for liberation, our struggle for independence, created the conditions for a new kind of relationship with Portugal.

I believe that, regarding relations between STP and Portugal today, we can say that they have undergone a positive development. We currently have no dispute with Portugal and we believe there are good conditions for fruitful cooperation between the two countries.

--Cooperation with Portugal in several areas, and it should be taken into consideration that, in such cooperation, no one gives without receiving.

ANGOP: Comrade President, how do you interpret the efforts which the RPA is making to establish a climate of peace and security in the southern African region?

M.P.C.: We support all the RPA's action to create a climate of peace and security in the region of southern Africa. We support the Angolan people's struggle against South African aggression; we support the Angolan people's struggle to eliminate the puppet bands which receive support from abroad to destabilize the RPA. We also support all Angola's efforts to arrive at a "modus vivendi" with South Africa (and this can only be achieved with the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African racists from Angolan territory).

It is in this context that we unconditionally supported the RPA's initiatives to meet with the South African party in Lusaka.

ANGOP: Finally, Mr President, do you have any message to send, through ANGOP, to the Sao Tomian community in Angola, to the Sao Tomians who are working side by side with the Angolans to build a socialist society?

M.P.C.: First, I would like to send greetings to all the Sao Tomians residing in Angola and plugging along beside the Angolan people, and tell them once again that all their activity on behalf of national reconstruction, all their activity in strict compliance with Angola's laws, all their diligence in performing their jobs, all this is a valid contribution to building stronger relations between the RPA and STP, on one hand, and it also does honor to each of these citizens and makes them real ambassadors of the people of STP to the Angolan people.

Angola is struggling with great problems, and the Sao Tomian citizens are sharing these problems with the Angolans, they are struggling together with the Angolan people to overcome these problems, and I believe this is the best thing a Sao Tomian citizen residing in Angola could do for the honor of his own people, for the development of the RPA.

Now in this month of July, we are celebrating the anniversary of our independence. We believe that the conditions have been created for the rapid development of our country and that Sao Tomians who are outside the country, specifically those who are living in Angola, can always make a real contribution to the development of our country, even if they are working in Angola.

We are convinced that our countrymen in Angola will be able to find a way to make a real contribution to this process of development in the EDSTP, to make a contribution to their people, who are struggling tirelessly to solve the problems of material and spiritual life.

I take this opportunity to wish the Sao Tomians settled in Angola success in their personal lives, good health, best regards to their families; and I would like to tell them that we leaders of STP will never forget our citizens who are outside the country, namely those who are living in the RPA.

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CSO: 3442/454

## BRIEFS

**SRSP APPOINTMENT**—General Ismail Ali Abokor, former Somali third vice-president imprisoned in 1982 for plotting against the state has been replaced on the Political Bureau of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP) by Colonel Ahmad Mahmud Farah of the Somali Ministry of Water and Mineral Resources. In addition to this decision, the five-member Political Bureau of the SRSP, chaired by the Head of State General Barre, adopted a resolution on the strengthening of Islam and of the Arabic language and culture in Somalia. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 24]

**SPANISH PATROL BOATS**—The Spanish newspaper La Voz de Galicia has confirmed the sale in February to the Somalian Navy by the Bazan shipyards (Spain) of two Cormoran-class fishing surveillance fast patrol boats for a total of US \$45 million, 50% of which is to be financed by Saudi Arabia, and 50% by Spain. The ENASA/Pegaso company is also reported to have sold the country armoured vehicles and tanks. The Bazan contract shows the dynamism of the Spanish Bazan shipyards, which last January also signed a contract to supply the Saudi Arabian Defence Ministry with six tug boats. The craft measure 16 meters and have 400 horsepower. They are to be delivered in late 1984/early 1985 and will be armed with 76 mm caliber 62 cannon with 6000 rounds. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 24]

**SPANISH TRANSPORT PLANES**—The government has recently ordered six C-212 Aviocar twin turboprop transport planes from the Spanish aircraft manufacturer CASA. Four of the aircraft will be cargo versions and two VIP planes. Financial arrangements are being worked out. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 24]

**FRG POLICE VEHICLES**—FRG Supplies vehicles for the police. The commander of the Somali Police, Brig-Gen Adan Abdi Dualeh, received a gift of 23 vehicles from the FRG ambassador, at the police HQ in Mogadishu; the vehicles included 20 VWs, one recovery vehicle and two Mercedes equipped with firefighting equipment. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 24]

**POLICE TRAINING AID**—The commander of the Somali Police Force, Maj-Gen Adan Abdi Dualeh went to the FRG for talks on the next three-year technical and police training programme which is aided by the FRG government. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 24]

CSO: 3400/2031

## SUPPORT GROWING FOR NP ACCORDING TO POLL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Jul 84 p 13

[Text]

**SUPPORT** for the National Party has increased, while that for the four Opposition parties has fallen, according to the results of an opinion poll published in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, yesterday.

The poll was conducted by Mark en Meningsopname (Edms) Beperk and involved about 2 000 White voters nationwide.

According to the poll, 55,8 percent of the White voters support the NP, 17 percent the Progressive Federal Party, 9,8 percent the Conservative Party, 4,9 percent the New Republic Party and 1,9 percent the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

About 10,7 percent of those interviewed during the poll said they would not vote for any of the parties should a general election be held.

During a similar opinion poll in July 1982, the support for the various parties was: NP 43 percent; PFP 20,2 percent; CP 14,5 percent; NRP 7,1 percent; HNP 2,4 percent. Then 12,8 percent said they would not vote.

The NP, according to the latest poll, has gained support along voters in both language groups. Progress particularly

among Englishspeakers has been remarkable. It enjoys the support of 35,2 percent of the voters from this language group, compared to the PFP's 10,4 percent, HNP 1,1 percent; CP 0,7 percent.

Afrikaans support is: NP 69,1 percent; CP 15,7 percent; HNP 1,4 percent; NRP 1,4 percent.

The survey also found that the majority of Whites agree there should be a single decision-making body for all population groups, including Blacks. About 41 percent voted in favour and 34 percent against such a body.

People questioned during the survey were also asked whether they felt the Afrikanervolkswag was a cultural organisation. Only 13 percent considered that it was; 62,5 percent did not agree, and the rest were not sure.

About 63 percent also felt that the AV was an umbrella body for specific political action, while 11,6 percent did not agree.

Of those interviewed, about two-thirds were in favour of the South West African issue being finalised with the aid of the Western contact group.

## PRESS WAR BETWEEN ARGUS, SAAN INTENSIFIES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jul 84 p 3

[Text]

THE Press war between the Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers was intensified yesterday when Argus announced that The Star is to publish a Sunday edition and SAAN announced that the Sunday Express is to appear in a "new look".

The battle began when The Star came down into the Saturday morning market with the publication of the Sunrise Star.

SAAN lost a court action to stop Allied Publishing from simultaneously distributing the Sunrise Star and the Rand Daily Mail in the same vans.

SAAN then pulled out of Allied, in which Argus had the majority shareholding, and set up its own distribution service.

The managing director of SAAN, Mr Clive Kinsley, admitted that defending The Mail on Saturdays had cost it R2-million.

Argus then went for the Sunday Express property advertising, the main source of the paper's revenue.

SAAN complained that the estate agents had

been induced to switch their advertising to The Star because of a R25-million discount offer.

The Star denied there had been any deals with the 80 estate agents involved in the switch, but Mr Kinsley insisted that "the discount is worth R25-million to the estate agents over the next five years."

### Property

The upshot was that the Express lost nearly all of its property advertising and The Star increased its Saturday property section to 112 tabloid pages.

The general feeling among journalists was that the property move was a preliminary to the setting up of a Sunday Star, which would wipe the Express off the market.

Recently the Argus newspaper in Cape Town set about luring estate agents away from the Cape Times, which is owned by SAAN.

The Argus offered massive discounts on display advertising. As a result, the Cape Town and Western branch of the Institute of Estate Agents decided to advertise houses only in the Argus.

### Planning

Yesterday, in a new development in the Press war, Mr Kinsley announced that "after months of careful planning," the Sunday Express would be relaunched on August 5.

It would have a new and distinctive character and he believed it would "meet the challenge of filling a real market gap and consumer need."

The Star, which had been refusing for months to admit it was going to bring out a Sunday Star, was goaded by the Express announcement into disclosing its own plans.

### Produce

The Star, it announced, would produce a Sunday edition from September 30. It would be a regional newspaper serving the same circulation area as the daily Star.

The Star's manager, Mr Jolyon Nuttall, said his newspaper needed to establish a Sunday edition for "strong economic and market reasons."

He would not comment on reports that the Argus group was attempting to establish a monopoly in the English-speaking South African newspaper industry, saying only that he had provided good reasons for the establishment of a Sunday edition.

## Journalist Society Welcomes Move

THE SA Society of Journalists (SASJ) yesterday welcomed the announcement by the Argus group that the Star is to produce a Sunday edition called the Sunday Star.

Ms Pat Sidley, president of the SASJ, said yesterday that the organisation was "very pleased" at the development because it would create more jobs for journalists and a greater diversity in journalism.

She said, however, that it was to be hoped that the establishment of a Sunday Star would not lead to the demise of any other newspapers or the loss of jobs to any journalists.

CSO: 3400/2096



'RELIGIOUS LEADERS' BLAMED FOR VIOLENCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

DURBAN. — The row over who was to blame for the outbreak of violence at the Lamontville African township near Durban on Sunday in which three people were killed, continued yesterday with the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, blaming "certain religious leaders."

Dr Dhlomo, who is also a member of the KwaZulu Cabinet, claimed yesterday that Christian and religious leaders were allowing violence at the township.

He claimed that the violence was taking place with their knowledge and they were doing little to stop it.

He said that during the unveiling of a tombstone in memory of the Lamontville community leader Mr M Dube last Sunday that political slogans and placards were prominent and were actu-

ally carried into the cemetery.

He could not understand how the religious leaders at such a dignified occasion could allow such placards to be carried into the cemetery. He said that one of the placards carried by the youths read: "Gatsha get out of Lamontville."

He said Inkatha was worried about the pattern of violence which seemed to erupt whenever there was a political gathering of groups opposed to his organisation.

He said there had been violence at Mr Dube's funeral when a man was assaulted and killed.

He urged religious and other group leaders to respect the integrity of other Black leaders even though they did not agree with him.

Dr Dhlomo also denied that two busloads of people, numbering be-

tween 100 and 150, had officially been sent by Inkatha to attend the unveiling ceremony.

He said any Zulu worthy of the name would have objected to attempts to degrade Chief Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and chief of the Zulu nation.

When Dr Dhlomo's comments were put to community leaders at Lamontville yesterday, they insisted that Inkatha was to blame for the violence.

They said nobody could deny the fact that Inkatha supporters were armed when they arrived outside the cemetery. The gathering had been peaceful until the group armed with sticks had arrived.

The community leaders claimed that the Inkatha supporters were told to stay away and that the sight of the sticks inflamed tempers.

## VOTERS' ROLL DISCREPANCIES RUIN ELECTIONS

### Candidates Comment

Durban POST NATAL in English 1-5 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

MAJOR discrepancies in the voters' roll threaten to turn the coming elections for the Indian House of Delegates and the coloured House of Representatives into a shambles.

Candidates are now involved in a race against time to trace "missing" voters in their respective constituencies. In one case, a candidate claims the roll in his constituency contains names of voters who are now deceased.

At Tuesday's election seminar in Durban for Natal's coloured and Indian candidates contesting the August 22 and 28 elections, candidates expressed dissatisfaction over the manner in which the voters' rolls had been compiled. Some described them as "outdated and useless".

Mr Gerrie van Zyl, director general of the Department of Internal Affairs and chief electoral officer for the coming elections, said he was sorry to hear the names of some voters did not appear on the roll but it was too late to do anything now.

"Various factors could have contributed to this. The prospective voter could have been under age, he or she may not have signed his or her name when the application was lodged, or it may be the application form did not have any address," he said.

Solidarity candidate

for Stanger, Mr Yunus Moolla, said he handed in 100 properly completed voter registration forms at the offices of the Internal Affairs Department in Stanger Street but when the roll was released the names of the 100 prospective voters did not appear.

The coloured Congress Party candidates, Mr Peter Marcus and Mr Morris Fynn, said when they examined their rolls they found the names of 600 voters missing.

"This is serious and I want an explanation

from the government offices in Pretoria why the names of these people were excluded," Mr Fynn said.

National People's Party man, Mr Mohammed Limalia, said he found many discrepancies in the latest voters' roll.

"I have in my possession voting cards which do not have full details. The details are ambiguous. The names on the roll differ from those on the cards and in some instances we have the road number but no house number. This makes it difficult for us to trace the voters," he said.

Independent Phoenix candidate Mr H M N Khan said scores of people in his constituency did not know whether they had been accepted as registered voters although they applied within the stipulated time.

## Editorial Examines Problem

Durban POST NATAL in English 1-5 Aug 84 p 14

[Editorial: "Election Chaos Looms..."]

[Text]

WHETHER lured by tempting salaries or imbued with a sincere desire to lead their people, a total of 167 hopefuls availed themselves this week as candidates for the Indian House of Delegates.

Included in the line-up are many who have served the community well in various fields. But also on the bandwagon are other lesser known prospects making their debuts in public life.

The stampede for nominations was such that not a single candidate was returned unopposed. Two Durban constituencies, Springfield and Phoenix, both attracted nine candidates in all, while the number of Independents totalled 76.

But while all this enthusiasm built up, prospective candidates were hot under the collar this week when told of major discrepancies in the final voters' rolls.

There are claims that hundreds of registered voters have been omitted from the rolls which are hopelessly outdated. There are also predictions of chaos and confusion on election day as the rolls cannot be updated at this late stage.

If the election does end up in a shambles, the Government must shoulder a major portion of the blame for its inept administration.

CSO: 3400/2026

SOVIET PAPER INTERVIEWS DAVID KITSON ON PRISON EXPERIENCES

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kudimov: "Twenty Years Behind the 'Wall of Death'"]

[Text] "In a South African prison I studied Russian. One should never be reconciled with the fact that he does not know the language of communism and the world of justice, the language of ideals for which one struggles and for which one's friends have given their lives..."

David Kitson was noticeably nervous. I listened to him and was amazed: how did this man do it, having gone through 20 years of tortures, threats and suffering in a solitude cell, he preserved freshness and optimism, and did not lose faith in the justice of his cause. And, of course, it was noticeable that after a long break "the joy of human communication" does not come easily: sometimes his voice breaks and reduces to whisper and he has a hard time looking for the necessary words. And, of course, the eyes of Comrade Kitson were amazing, having seen a great deal; they spoke of the enormous suffering that this man went through.

He was born in Capetown to a family of British subjects. His parents were known to be liberals and were different from other white colonists in that they thought it was shameful and criminal to humiliate and persecute the blacks.

At the beginning of World War II, David entered the engineering department at Durban University. His views on life and on the future of mankind led him into the South African communist ranks. After the war, David went to England to continue his education at Oxford. After a few years he returned to the YuAr [South African Republic], where, at that time, the racist group was already in power and the barbarian "law of suppressing communism" had been enacted. David Kitson joined in the struggle of his party comrades already acting in the underground. The South African patriots needed the help of an expert engineer.

What happened then, David Kitson remembers:

"One day, the police broke into the party headquarters. I don't know how they managed to track us down. My friend and I were immediately tried under several articles of the South African law. The main accusations were for carrying out subversive activities and participation in illegal work. I was under the threat of hanging. However, due to the solidarity and support of the British workers, who found a most experienced lawyer, I was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

In South Africa, the system of apartheid covers prisons as well. I was imprisoned in a prison for whites. The first 3 years I spent in the Beverly Hills prison, which is known among the patriots as "the wall of death." Every year they murdered up to 100 people. The position of Africans was especially hard and tragic.

"Once, we turned out to be neighbors with patriots from the African National Congress (ANC), who were under a definite threat of death. We sang a song about the liberation of Africa. They joined us. Together we sang and chanted slogans—despite the shouts of the guards. I was amazed at the spiritual power of these people. Thoughts about how hard our party comrades have it in the prison for blacks gave me strength."

"There was nothing in my cell except a little mat on a stone floor. Every 6 months the local bosses allowed me a half-hour meeting with my family, and I was allowed only one letter."

"Only several years later did we succeed in getting the permission of the prison wardens to read newspapers. These were "reliably edited" South African publications. And 16 years after the moment of incarceration we could subscribe to British bourgeois newspapers; of course, this was an exception for white prisoners only."

"In other words, political prisoners, suffering in the apartheid prisons, hardly even know that their fate is followed by the entire progressive mankind, and that a real international campaign of solidarity is carried out in their support."

"We received some of the information about this struggle regularly, as a result of meetings with our families. For instance, we all celebrated the news that the Soviet Union awarded Comrade Fisher, who later died in prison, the Order of Lenin. From various sources we found out about the intense struggle that the Soviet Union and other socialist states are carrying out in the United Nations for the liberation of political prisoners in South Africa."

"Your son is 27 now. What kind of person would you like him to be?"

"I think that Steven is on the right track. He grew up in the family of a communist. As an educated and honest man, he will surely arrive at the understanding that only communism can provide humanity with equal rights, justice and peace. He is an active participant in the anti-apartheid movement. As a matter of fact, he has already suffered for this. As early as in the South African school, his classmates persecuted him as the son of a communist. And recently, when he was coming to visit me in prison, the South African secret service grabbed him for..."an attempt to organize an escape of political prisoners." There is not a more absurd accusation, that I can think of, given the conditions of the military-police regime of South Africa."

"In other words, my son has already received his first baptism in the struggle for social justice."

"As far as I am concerned, I think it is too early for me to rest. I do not intend to stop my struggle against apartheid. I have invitations for teaching. Well, young people and future politicians and scientists need to have a true understanding about the situation in South Africa."

"The British, in my opinion, like no one else, should strengthen their struggle of solidarity with the South African patriots. The British have never stopped their assistance to the regime. And, recently, they were "hospitable" hosts to their leader, P. Botha. I see the goal of my life to be the complete destruction of the regime that I hate the most."

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CSO: 1807/272



STUDY SHOWS INCOMES IN HOMELANDS, SOUTH AFRICA STAGNANT

Johannesburg SAKE RAPPORT in Afrikaans 8 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Flip Meyer: "A Present Picture of the Poor Homelands, According to the Bureau"]

[Text] Blacks in the national states do not earn even one third of the personal income per capita of the blacks in Transvaal. Transvaal is also the only province where, from 1960 to 1980, whites were able to improve their lot, from the point of view of personal income per capita.

These facts are taken from the most recent studies by the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa on the distribution of personal income in South Africa and its national states.

Two weeks ago opposition leader Dr Frederik val Zyl Slabbert made a lashing attack on the government's homelands policy.

Hundred

He pointed out that this year, either directly or indirectly, the South African tax payer will be paying 2,250 million rand to independent and dependent black states and according to him this will represent 8.86 percent of the 1984/85 budget.

The bureau has drafted an index chart showing the average personal income for South Africa and its national states and assigning a value of 100 to the average.

Subsequently the various provinces and the national states are given index numbers that relate to the average. Therefore a number that is less than 100 will indicate that the average income per capita of the province or district in question is lower than the general average.

In 1960 the number for the national states (in the present geographical arrangement) was 52 for the black inhabitants and in 1980 it was 54. In the 20 year period, as measured by this index, there was relatively no improvement to speak of in the welfare of the national states.

During an interview with SAKE-RAPPORT Prof Piet Nel, the director of the bureau, said that measured by the increase in the GNP since 1960 the prosperity of South Africa underscores the view that a deterioration is being experienced.

For example, from 1960 to 1970 there was an average growth of 5.9 percent in the real GNP and 6.2 percent in real personal income.

During the 5 years to 1975 the respective growths leveled to 4.0 percent and to 5.2 percent. However, from 1975 to 1980 this growth shrank to 3.1 and to 1.6 percent respectively.

However, it must be added that the fruits of the recovery in 1980 will not be clearly reflected by the figures.

One also has to take into consideration that subsequently there was again a period of slower growth which has led the figures in the bureau's survey to provide a realistic picture of the long term trend.

#### Gloomier

The bureau's report also reflects the personal incomes of the various cities and towns in South Africa by population groups.

Although the figures with respect to welfare of the blacks in the national states appear to present a gloomier picture, there is on the other hand a clear trend of a growing purchasing power among the blacks of South Africa.

Where the share of the total personal income for all blacks in 1960 was 23.1 percent, this rose to 29.6 percent in 1980. Professor Nel says that this trend can be expected to continue.

An analysis that spells out this trend more drastically is the share which every population group gets in the increase in personal income and therefore whatever portion is obtained in additional personal income.

#### United States

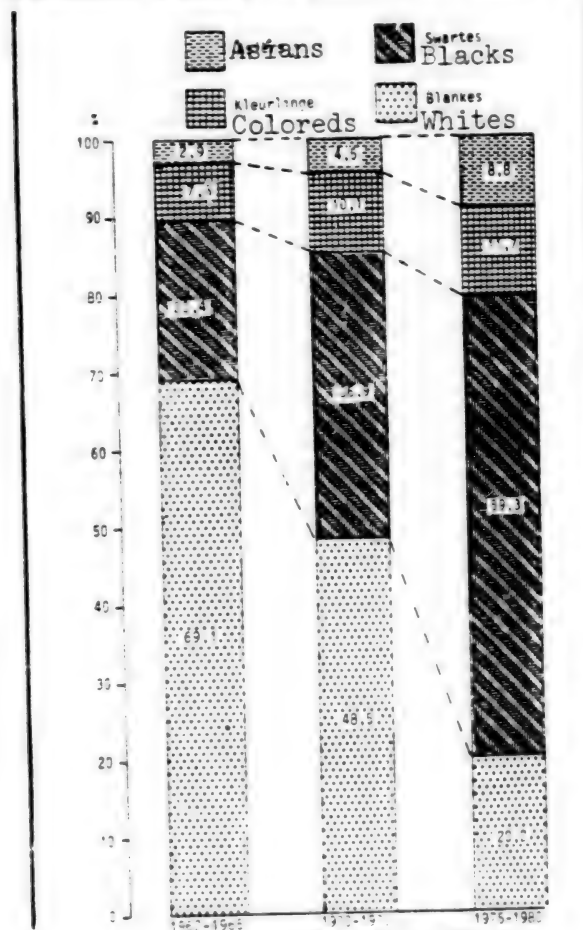
From 1960 to 1965 the blacks' share of the additional income was only 20.4 percent as against the whites share of 69.1 percent.

However, from 1975 to 1980 the share of the blacks came up to 58.3 percent, while the whites could get only 20.2 percent of the greater share.

Another analysis by the bureau shows that the employees share of the GNP in 1982 was 58.5 percent as against 50.5 percent in 1980. Since 1960 the trend has been that the share representing the net industry balance (the profit) of enterprises of the GNP has been getting smaller and smaller.

Thus in 1982 it was 25.9 percent, but this is still higher than the corresponding figure in the United States and Britain, but lower than that of countries like Australia and New Zealand.

Percentage distribution of added real personal incomes by population groups in South Africa and the national states between 1960 and 1980



7964

CSO: 3401/100

BLACK BUSINESS WANTS SOCIAL EQUALITY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Aug 84 p 10

[Text]

DURBAN. — Black businessmen had asked the Government to treat them in the same way as businessmen of other colour groups, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry was told in Durban yesterday.

In his presidential address at the annual conference, Dr Sam Motuenyane said his organisation had received "only conflicting responses" from various Government departments on whether Blacks can legally operate in industrial areas other than those set aside for them.

The federation had not yet been officially told whether incentives for Black manufacturers had been approved by the appropriate Government agency.

"Nafcoc has finally at-

tempted to get some official pronouncement on these problems by writing to the Prime Minister's office, from which we are now anticipating a definitive and unequivocal statement," said Dr Motuenyane.

Referring to forced removals of Blacks, he told the conference that South Africa needed "long term peace and stability" for growth and development. To achieve this goal, Blacks had to become part of the community.

"Blacks must be recognised as citizens in the country and accorded equal protection under the law.

"Only within the framework of a system of social equality will the problems of racial separation and forced removals be ultimately abolished," he said. — Sapa.

COLOUREDS URGED TO IGNORE BOYCOTT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 13

[Text]

THE Transvaal leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Lez du Preez, has called on Coloured parents and children to ignore the call of the United Democratic Front (UDF) for a school boycott on August 15.

Addressing an election rally in Eersterus, he said the UDF youth campaign was aimed at making cannon-fodder out of children to get Coloured elections.

"The UDF is conducting a ferocious campaign against our moral, ethical and spiritual beliefs."

The organisation's strategy was aimed at youths, but while they were using youths to start boycotts and riots, their own children were safely tucked away in overseas schools and universities.

Mr Du Preez said the UDF's ultimate aim was the creation of a Socialist State, the front-runner of a Communist State.

"You must not allow these people to sell you communism under the cloak of democracy," he said.

The PCP Eersterus

candidate, Mr Winston Campbell, said Dr Allan Boesak of the UDF had no right to tell Coloured people to boycott the elections. Dr Boesak himself had never boycotted the system that gave him his education, Mr Campbell said. — Sapa.

(News by M R Waldner, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

CSO: 3400/2029

HOMELANDS DECENTRALIZATION, CONCENTRATION EFFECTS DISCUSSED

Johannesburg SAKE-RAPPORT in Afrikaans 8 Jul 84 p 28

[Article by Deon Basson: "This Is How Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Differ"]

[Text] The Decentralization Board does not wish to create jobs in one region at the expense of unemployment in another.

This is what Mr Duggie de Beer, the chairman of the Decentralization Board said. SAKE-RAPPORT approached him for a comment following reports that one of the enterprises in Bophuthatswana, engaged in manufacturing textile wares, is not being allowed to transfer to Ciskei. This enterprise is believed to be located in Babelegi.

Mr De Beer told SAKE-RAPPORT that he could not really comment on the case in question, because he did not have the facts before him. Nevertheless he wants to make it clear that the two countries are independent and therefore they have their own boards for considering applications of this nature.

Generally speaking, however, the Decentralization Board does not permit the transfer of the same type of industry from one region to another; but he said that there must be a differentiation between the transfer of an industry and the expansion of an industry to another region.

Merits

In the event that an enterprise should consider expanding to another region which qualifies for decentralization concessions then it is free to apply for this. Such an application will be considered on the merits of any new application.

SAKE-RAPPORT proceeded to look into the differences between the concessions enjoyed by industrialists in Ciskei and those enjoyed by industrialists in Babelegi.

First of all there is a difference between industrial development points such as Dimbaza and Mdantsane in Ciskei and a deconcentration point like Babelegi.



## Closer

Industrial development points must act as depolarization areas for existing metropolitan regions. Job opportunities must be created there through concessions to industrialists.

These concentration points border, or are located near, metropolitan regions and these are areas to which industrial growth can be channeled so as to relieve the pressure of overconcentration in metropolitan regions.

The latter points are closer to the larger centers and in most instances do not enjoy all the advantages enjoyed by industrial development points.

It must be borne in mind that in comparing the various concessions with each other the difference between a deconcentration point and an industrial development point becomes apparent.

The following important differences are among those advantages existing in Ciskei and those existing in Babellegi, Bophuthatswana:

### Price Preference

An industrialist in Ciskei qualifies for a rail freight rebate of 60 percent while an industrialist in Babellegi does not qualify for such a rebate.

In Ciskei a subsidy of 95 percent of the total wages, with a maximum of 110 rand per worker per month for a period of 7 years is being paid out as a cash grant. In Babellegi this is 80 percent with a maximum of 35 rand per worker per month.

In Ciskei the price preference on tenders is 10 percent, while this is only 4 percent in Babellegi.

There are other differences related to rentals and interest subsidies, housing subsidies for key personnel and also for harbor services.

More remote points in Bophuthatswana, such as Mafeking, are being regarded as industrial development points and therefore are getting more advantages than Babellegi; but these are not near as good as those in Ciskei and Transkei both of which are a part of District-D.

7954

CSO: 3401/100

RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT RECENT BLACK SCHOOLS CRISIS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text]

**LAST week had all the ingredients which over the past few years have come to typify black schooling: class boycotts, armed policemen, sjamboks and dogs.**

The results were also typical: burnt and looted shops and bottle stores, at least one person shot dead and two youths seriously wounded, a number of people arrested, and property worth hundreds of thousands of rands gone up in smoke.

• In Tembisa, - Kémp-ton Park, classes have been suspended until tomorrow. It is not clear whether the students will attend lessons when schools re-open, because an attempt last weekend to persuade them to end their boycott failed.

Tembisa parents and students held a meeting to resolve the schools impasse, but the two demands that had initially sparked off the boycott still stood in the way. The children demanded the immediate institution of a democratically-elected students' representative council, and the abolition of age restrictions.

### **Demands**

They said they would return to schools only when the two demands had been met, and at least one school the children said they would go back to school but would not guarantee they would attend lessons.

• In Thabong, Welkom, the situation seemed to have returned to normal at the Theto High School where boycotts first led to suspension of lessons and then the confrontation with police, which ended in the death of one man and the injury to two youths.

The chief public relations officer for the Department of Education and Training, Mr Job Schoeman, said that the rioting had not taken place at any of the schools. At the time violence erupted, he said, all but 50 students were in their classrooms.

Class boycotts at Theto started on July 20 with students listing a number of grievances, among which were the use of abusive language by some teachers and the institution of a students' representative council.

According to Mr Schoeman, the school has been reopened and by Friday students were being re-registered and plain sailing could be expected from today. He said 10 students whose conduct over the past few days had been highly questionable, had not been readmitted and they would appear before the school's governing council on August 17.

The Welkom students have alleged that there is a shortage of teachers in some subjects, unreasonable

use of corporal punishment, insulting attitudes and abusive language by white teachers and the refusal to recognise an SRC.

Mr Schoeman conceded that it was possible abusive language had been used, and an investigation was being conducted.

This week's rioting, he said, started after 50 matric students refused to be registered and instead went to a beerhall where they drank.

- At Mabopane Technikon, Pretoria, where students had been boycotting lectures for a number of days because they demanded an SRC, the situation had returned to normal by midweek.

### **Boycott**

The boycott of lectures had involved more than 1 000 students.

- In Duduza, Nigel, more than 120 matric students from four classes are boycotting classes because a teacher has been dismissed. The Det regional office for Nigel has said the teacher was dismissed because the department was not happy with her work, and she also had no regard for people in authority.

According to Det, the teacher has been dismissed at the end of July, which was the beginning of this week. Children in lower classes have not joined the boycott.

- In Cradock, Eastern Cape, things have not been smooth since the beginning of the year. At one

time classes were suspended because students had embarked on boycotts, but even the reopening did not help matters any.

By Friday afternoon, the schools in Cradock had not been closed down but attendances were very low, Mr Schoeman said.

As students at the affected schools seemed to want students' representative councils, Mr Schoeman said his department had made arrangement for pupils' councils to be incorporated in the new school liaison committees which were being set up all over the country.

"But as long as the children want an SRC which will have a say in the hiring and firing of teachers, an SRC with its own office and telephone and duplicating machines, we will not tolerate it. We will not allow pupils to prescribe to us," he said.

Class boycotts had another sequel last week — A Pretoria inquest magistrate ruled that a policeman, Lieutenant Daniel Hugo McLachlan, was responsible for the death earlier this year of a 15-year-old Atteridgeville pupil.

Emma Sathekge, a Form 1 pupil, was run over by a police Landrover in a schoolyard when police went to the D H Peta High School during a boycott of lectures. McLachlan, the court ruled, was responsible for the girl's death in that he had driven the police car negligently.

DU PREEZ WARNS AGAINST SOCIALISM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 13

[Text]

OPPONENTS of the Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections were in favour of the alternative — a socialist Azania — the Transvaal leader of the Peoples' Congress Party (PCP), Mr Les du Preez, said yesterday.

Addressing an audience of about 40 people at Coronationville hall, Mr Du Preez said Coloured people had been intimidated by the faceless masses not to vote in the August 22 elections.

And the propaganda campaign has intended to indoctrinate and prepare the Coloured community for a socialist-governed state called Azania.

Coloured people must ask themselves whether this was what they wanted and whether, by doing this, they were not opting for violence in the country.

Mr Du Preez said the Nationalist Government was earnestly trying to bring about a just society in South Africa and the President's Council had been its first act of faith.

"We are intelligent enough to realise all our dreams will not be realised if we do not recognise the real situation in South Africa," he said. "We must not set our ideals so high they are completely unobtainable."

The PCP had set itself the goals of social, economic and educational upliftment of Coloured people, "because we have a vision of a new South Africa".

"But unless we can bring our people to the standard of Western civilisation, we will not obtain this." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2029

## LABOR PARTY LEADER RABIE ON NATIONALIZATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 34 p 13

[Text]

THE Labour Party could not be criticised for calling for nationalisation of major industries, as the present Government had

under its control vital projects such as Iscor, Escom and the South African Transport Services, the Transvaal leader of the Labour Party said this

week.

Addressing a mixed meeting of both Coloureds and Indians at the Sandown Hall, Sandton, Mr Jac Rabie, said talk of frightening off foreign investors by nationalisation was ridiculous.

"They don't want us to talk of the socialisation of industries, but they can do what we are not allowed to talk about," he said.

"We must teach the White man in this country to stop being greedy, and to share or we will have open confrontation which might be uncontrollable," he said.

Mr Rabie also pledged his support to the Coloured people of Alexandra township, who he said were sometimes forced to live in abomin-

able conditions.

He said the Coloureds of that area wanted their own proclaimed site, and refused to accept an area in the Southern suburbs of Johannesburg.

Mr Yakoob Makda, the Indian Labour Party candidate for Central Rand, also addressed the 150 strong audience. Mr Makda urged people to "turn their backs on boycotts and join the peaceful march forward to freedom."

Mr Salaam Mayet, another candidate for the House of Delegates election on August 28, said the next State President could be a "man of colour".

Mr Mayet said there was plenty of room for Indians in the Labour Party.

Report by Janine Stein, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

CSO: 3400/2029

## NATAL INDIAN WANTS GROUP AREAS ACT RETAINED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 13

[Text]

DURBAN. — The Group Areas Act should be retained because its scrapping would make Indian people lose millions of rands, the chairman of the National Federal Party, Mr R Reddy, said this week.

Mr Reddy, who is expected to lead this small Conservative Party after the August 28 House of Delegates elections, said the NFP would oppose any moves to do away with the Act.

He did not believe Indian people would be prepared to lose all they had

invested in their group areas just for the glamour of living in multi-racial suburbs.

Mr Reddy (Cavendish), Mr S V Pillay (Chatsworth Central) and Mr R R Mahabeer (Reservoir Hills) are the only three NFP candidates in the election.

The party leader, Mr M A Begg, is not standing for health reasons.

Mr Reddy said the main difference between his party and others in the elections was that the other parties all said they were going to parliament to fight the system.

This, he said, was merely a ploy to get people to vote for them.

The NFP, on the other

hand, was not going in to fight the system, but to make it work and get the best for the Indian people.

Mr Reddy said while the NFP was prepared to allow urban Blacks to be given a chamber in Parliament, it would object to rural Blacks being represented there.

The party was opposed to petty apartheid and believed the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts should be scrapped.

The NFP was launched in 1975 and won two seats in the 1981 South African Indian Council elections.

However, both members later joined the National Peoples' Party of Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Report by M Robertson, 85 Field Street, Durban

CSO: 3400/2029



TREURNICHT, INDIAN LEADER MEET ON NEW DEAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Aug 84 p 10

[Text]

NEWCASTLE. — Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, disclosed at the party's provincial congress at Newcastle on Saturday he had met the leader of the National Peoples Party (NPP), Mr Amichand Rajbansi, recently to discuss the constitution.

"He (Mr Rajbansi) wanted to know why the Conservative Party objected to the constitution. I told him that the constitution removed White determination without extending self-determina-

tion to Coloureds and Indians.

"I told him that the Conservative Party was in full agreement that the Indian and Coloured people should rule themselves in their own areas but at the same time the White man had the right to determine his own future."

To loud applause, Dr Treurnicht told the congress that the new constitution was "white surren-

der."

He said the Whites would be political prisoners and the key to their future would be held by other race groups. He rejected multi racial government whether at the national, provincial or municipal level.

Dr Treurnicht attacked the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha and said it was strange that he had room for "his enemies the Coloureds and Indians in

his Cabinet, but not for his conservative White people."

Reading from statements by the Rev Alan Hendrickse, leader of the Coloured Labour Party, Dr Treurnicht said it was obvious that both the Indian and Coloured parties had only begun the process of wanting to dictate to the white man.

(News by Tim Clark, 1 Margolisa, Seventh Avenue, Durban).

CSO: 3400/2029

PCP SLATES THE LABOUR PARTY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Aug 84 p 10

[Text]

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The first election meeting of the People's Congress Party in Port Elizabeth on Monday night turned into a platform for attacks on the Labour Party and its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse was criticised as being a "sell-out" by many of the delegates to the meeting which was attended by about 150 people.

The speakers were the party's Eastern Cape regional leader, Mr A W

Tiry, Mr Godfrey Julies, the party's representative in the Schauderville constituency, Mr Stephen Marongo, the party's candidate in the Bethelsdorp constituency, Mr Donald Cairncross, the party's candidate in the Gelvandale constituency and the party's regional chairman, Mr Chris Williams.

Mr Marongo said he was a former member of the LP, who was "deeply" involved in its affairs until he resigned on July 7.

He criticised the LP for advocating disinvestment by foreign firms operating in South Africa and said the poor workers would suffer if those firms withdrew.

Mr Marongo blamed the LP for the high prices being charged for council houses and said houses in Schauderville, for example, that had been built more than 40 years ago, should be sold at cost price.

Mr Marongo criticised Mr Hendrickse for being the only person in the "liberation movement" to have been "conditionally" released from detention.

Mr Cairncross, another former member of the LP, said: "The Labour Party has lost contact with the affairs of our people."

(Report by R Hill, 19 Beakins Street, Port Elizabeth). — Sapa

CSO: 3400/2029

CP-HNP TO BACK EACH OTHER'S CANDIDATES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

THE CP and HNP have decided to support one another's candidates in the envisaged mini-election early in November.

Early indications are that the CP will put up a candidate in Prim-

rose, where Dr Piet Koornhof has announced his resignation as MP and that the HNP will support the CP's candidate.

It is also understood that an HNP parliamentary candidate will stand in either George

or Parow and a CP candidate in the constituency not contested by the HNP.

In both cases the two party organisations will co-operate and support either HNP or CP candidates in George and Parow.

**Strong**

It will be the first time since the establishment of the CP two years ago that the CP will support an HNP candidate in a parliamentary or provincial election.

The Citizen understands the final decision on which candidates will stand where, will be taken after the CP's Free State congress which started in

Bloemfontein last night.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the CP, said yesterday there was such strong support from Rightwingers in Primrose that "the CP has no choice but to fight this seat."

He stressed that no final decision with regard to Primrose would be taken until the CP executive had liaised with the HNP leadership after the Free State congress.

**Chance**

Mr Louis Stofberg, general secretary of the HNP, said the Rightwing parties had a better chance in Primrose than they had in Germiston District.

He said that the CP and HNP combined, had more votes than the NP in Germiston District.

CSO: 3400/2029

SWAZILAND DENIES PART IN FRELIMO BORDER SKIRMISH

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Aug 84 p 8

[Text]

MBABANE. — Swaziland's Minister Without Portfolio and Acting Minister of Defence, Mr Mhambi Mnisi, yesterday denied that Swaziland's security forces had been in any way involved in the reported armed skirmish between Frelimo troops and members of the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR).

Mr Mnisi said the truth of the matter was that a skirmish involving shooting between Frelimo

troops and members of the MNR did take place last Sunday morning just inside the Mozambique side of the border between 5.30 and 6.30am.

As a result, about 60 Mozambican civilians crossed into Swaziland. With them was a uniformed Frelimo soldier, who was suffering from a head wound.

Mr Mnisi said the soldier was admitted to the Good Shepherd Hospital at Siteki.

Members of the Swaziland Defence Force then requested the Mozambican civilians to return to their homes, which they did, he said.

Swaziland Defence Force officials assured the Mozambicans that the in-

cident would be reported and fully investigated by the government of both countries.

Swazis living in the Lomahasha border area have frequently expressed their concern about their safety because of the tense security situation which has developed in the area during the past few years.

They say the situation has for some time been aggravated by border-hopping incidents involving ANC smugglers.

They say that, more recently, there have been increased sounds of armed clashes on the Mozambican side of the border, presumably between Frelimo troops and members of the MNR, or smugglers. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2029

## LABOUR PARTY ACCUSED OF INTIMIDATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Aug 84 p 10

[Text]

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Eastern Cape leader of the People's Congress Party Mr A W Tiry, has complained about alleged intimidation being used by Labour Party canvassers in Uitenhage.

Mr Tiry is the PCP candidate for the Swartkops constituency in the forthcoming (Coloured) House of Representatives elections. Uitenhage is part of the constituency and the Labour's candidate there is the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the Labour leader.

Mr Tiry said yesterday that he had received several complaints that LP canvassers had told residents they would be evicted unless they voted for the LP.

Other residents, according to Mr Tiry, had been told they would lose their pensions, while others were threatened with imprisonment.

"It is time that we told the electorate that the LP has no power to evict them or carry out these threats," Mr Tiry said.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Tiry's allegations were untrue.

"Mr Tiry is just making excuses," he said. "The Labour Party would never intimidate anybody."

"He has lost the election even before he has started." — Sapa.

(Report by Raymond Hill, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

CSO: 3400/2029

## SA'S NEIGHBORS REJECT SANCTIONS, SAYS NEL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Aug 84 p 8

[Text]

ALL but four nations on the African continent maintained economic relations with South Africa, while the exceptions were probably due to a total lack of potential trade with the Republic or debt crisis, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday.

"Without exception, all the Republic's neighbours reject sanctions and seek increased benefits from closer economic association with South Africa," he said in an address to the South African Institute of International Affairs in Pretoria.

Referring to the ongoing campaign in the United States for disinvestment in South Africa, he said the vast majority of South Africa's leaders and people opposed disinvestment.

"Numerous statements by political, community and trade union leaders representing proven constituencies and a wide diversity of views — many of them persons who are outspoken opponents of the Government — leave no doubt at all.

"In fairness, the evidence of support for increasing foreign investment is such that the onus is on the protagonists of disinvestment to provide proof of support for their case," Mr Nel said.

No amount of theorising about the persuasive effects of sanctions could disguise the truth that jobs had to be destroyed for them to be effective.

"Obviously, the damage would be indiscriminate in so far as those people most vulnerable are likely to suffer . . . we all know they are the Blacks of South Africa."

Besides claiming that sanctions against South

Africa were supported by the majority of Blacks in the country and that it was wanted by the Republic's neighbouring states, those supporting disinvestment said it was a peaceful alternative to violence.

"If this was so, those inside South Africa who advocate peaceful change would surely support disinvestment, but they do not."

"Those who do are either distant observers with nothing to lose, or desperate revolutionaries who ~~feel~~ <sup>realise</sup> that the conditions from which revolution can arise do not exist in South Africa," the Deputy Minister said.

Also, the advocates of disinvestment were wrong in believing the United States was the largest foreign investor in the country, or that its relative size could make it a critical factor.

US investment in South African presently amounted to 23 percent of total foreign investment and was estimated to be about R4,6 billion, while total foreign investment increased on average by roughly the same amount each year.

American investment was, accordingly, not of overriding importance, Mr Nel said.

It was, however, of critical importance to some 150 000 people — of which only 30 000 were White — employed in the country by American companies. This meant about 750 000 people — predominantly Black — depended for their livelihood on US companies in South Africa.

"Accordingly, the investment weapon could destroy the welfare of many people, without affecting the policies it is supposedly aimed at," he said. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2029



EDITORIAL BLAMES GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC CRISIS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Aug 84 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

**FOR SOUTH AFRICANS** this will be bitterly remembered as the winter of our discontent, as the country's economic decline impacts on almost everybody.

After being buffeted mercilessly by increases in General Sales Tax, the pressure is given urgency by last week's tough economic measures by the Government. This will prove to be another staggering blow to blacks who are already living under desperate conditions.

According to economists and business leaders the shock emergency economic squeeze on spending was a hammer blow to the declining economy. The new maximum on hire purchase rates has gone up from 27 percent — something that most blacks could barely manage — to an incredible 32 percent. In fact it would be financially suicidal for any black person to go on a HP bender.

The problem for those in the higher income bracket is that shortage of houses has caused them to invest in new homes. This means that most people have been forced to budget for furniture and other household goods which will become extremely difficult to repay. On top of that, the bond interest rates on housing have also shot up. This is indeed a very bleak situation for most people.

The Government must admit that it has made an economic shambles of a country that could have stood up to the severest inflation and drought, without resorting to such desperate measures.

As far as we are concerned, we are being forced to pay heavily for political blunders created by apartheid. The State is subsidising the type of bureaucratic mess that could simply not stand up

for long without eventually collapsing. Among other things we are acutely aware of the expensive madness going on in homelands that South African taxpayers have to subsidise. It is really about time that those men out there have their wings clipped.

The number of white elephants in terms of airports or holiday resorts going up in these mini states is paid for by us.

We also have to pay for huge salaries given to men who can hardly claim to be representatives of their own communities — let alone many of us who refuse to recognise these “states.”

Finally, the Government will be accountable for the serious social ills that will follow this economic squeeze. Many more people are likely to lose their jobs, with obvious repercussions on the lives of even those who are able to hold their jobs. The crime rate — which affects all sectors of the population — will inevitably rise as desperate men and women try to salvage their life-styles.

Politically we can predict even more strikes on the labour scene. All this translated into everyday life means very few people will celebrate Christmas this year. Others will go down into bankruptcy.

CSO: 3400/2033

## UNEMPLOYMENT WORSE, DESPITE BETTER ECONOMY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Apr 84 p 13

[Text]

UNEMPLOYMENT in South Africa has not been reversed during the past year, in spite of improved economic conditions, Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower, said last night.

Mr Du Plessis, who addressed the annual meeting of the Benoni Afrikaanse Sakekamer, said employment in South Africa showed a declining tendency since 1982.

He said the total number of registered unemployed Whites, coloureds and Asians of 15 923 in 1981, have increased to 35 777 in 1983.

During the same period Black unemployed increased from 419 000 to 462 000.

Mr Du Plessis predicted that job opportunities will not increase this year in spite of slightly increased economic activity.

He pointed out that South Africa was not the only western country with problems to create enough job opportunities.

But what is worrying is that authoritative evaluations show that economic revival in these western countries over the long term won't decrease the levels of unemployment.

The reasons for this are, among others, automation, robots, competition from Third World countries with regard to cheap labour, outdated training standards and obsolete industries.

Mr Du Plessis said the improvement of the economic growth rate was the only real solution for South Africa's unemployment. In order to achieve this, priority would have to be given to the removal of factors restricting the free market system.

The small business sector should be expanded, regional development should be achieved and education and training must be promoted with a view to the more effective utilisation of available labour.

CSO: 3400/2029

## EDITORIAL ON POSSIBLE CP-HNP MERGER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Aug 84 p 6

[Editorial: "A Merger?"]

[Text]

**THE** Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties are moving closer together and it would not surprise us if they eventually merged to form a new party.

There are financial problems relating to the HNP — especially the party's debts, which the CP would not want to take over.

Some policy differences also stand in the way of a merger at present.

But their ability to sink their differences by forming electoral pacts — the latest was announced this week — shows which way the wind is blowing.

For, after all, if they can join forces to fight by-elections, and agree which constituencies each will fight, with the other's support, they are close enough to taking the final step of amalgamation. And this is bound to come.

Why should these two parties, which at one time were highly critical of each other and of each other's leaders, be so willing now to work together?

### Mounting antagonism

The answer is they have an overriding antagonism, one might call it hatred, of the Government and its reform policies, and this is mounting as the time comes for the new tricameral Parliament to be established.

Neither the CP nor the HNP accepts the new

constitution, although the CP, by having members in the White House of Assembly, will perforce have to work within the system.

Suggestions that if the CP came to power it would change the system to what it was is easier said than done.

The Coloureds and Indians will not readily give up their chambers in the tricameral Parliament — and it will not be possible to persuade them to accept any other dispensation.

If the new system does not work — as its critics claim — it would be a matter of concern to the Government and not just to the CP or HNP.

The Government, however, seems confident it will work, even if there are a large number of imponderables at this point.

The CP and HNP can only play a negative role — opposing the system as much as they can, while knowing they cannot undo it.

Nevertheless, we fully expect them to continue to campaign vigorously against the new Parliament and the sharing of power — and will claim, as they have been doing, that it is a sell-out of the White man.

No doubt they will also try to rouse feelings over the appointment of Coloured and Indian Cabinet Ministers.

But this will be a shortsighted policy, since the last thing the country needs is any further exacerbation of feelings among its various communities.

## Bread and Butter

The CP and HNP will seek to capitalise, too, on the dire straits in which many people find themselves in the present economic period, what with inflation rampant, mortgage rates up (and to rise further), the prime rate at a record level (and expected to go even higher), GST at 10 percent (and it may also go higher) and the country seemingly in an economic mess.

No doubt the Government believes by the time it has to go to the country, the Republic will be out of its economic troubles.

But there will still be grievances enough to swing votes towards the Right-wing parties.

If the CP and HNP do merge, they are likely to concentrate on bread-and-butter issues, to great effect.

How strong the CP is outside the Northern Transvaal may be shown in Primrose.

Nobody — and we believe this goes for the NP as well — can say with certainty who supports the CP, since many conservatives have gone underground politically, for fear of jeopardising their positions.

But we believe the CP and the Right are far stronger than a newspaper's recent poll suggests.

CSO: 3400/2029

## FRG SEEKS DISINVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Aug 84 p 4

[Text]

**HARARE.** — West Germany was convinced that the source of friction and disturbances in Southern Africa was Pretoria's "apartheid system," a representative of the Social Democratic Party, Mr Gonter Verheugen, said in Harare yesterday.

In a "message of solidarity" at the second Zanu (PF) congress, Mr Verheugen said: "Only when this system is relinquished, will there be a possibility of permanent peace in this part of the world."

He said the Western countries had a special responsibility to put pressure on South Africa. They should divert their investments in South Africa to the "frontline" States, otherwise they would continue to be part of "continued oppression."

He strongly challenged the morality of business deals with South Africa at the "expense of the majority of the human beings there."

"We are, therefore, in solidarity with the freedom movements of the African National Congress and the South West

African Peoples' Organisation, SWAPO of Namibia."

Zimbabwe's example of freedom and peace proved to the "South African regime" and its allies that injustice and violence would not exist for a long time.

"The fundamental principles guiding the practical work of our parties are such that we advocate freedom and the dignity of man, equal rights for all and we fight for social justice," said Mr Verheugen.

World peace and the freedom of people in numerous countries was seriously threatened by the US Government's "militaristic policies of imperialism," a member of the Politburo of the Portuguese Communist Party, Mr Angelo Veloso, said yesterday.

Speaking at the second congress of Zanu (PF) in Harare, Mr Veloso said the existence of apartheid in South Africa would not be possible without US support.

Yugoslavia was among the countries to castigate South African Government policies. Mr Miya-

tovic, a representative of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia said in his "solidarity message" that the international community should consider apartheid "much more seriously" and work for its downfall.

"While considering and working towards establishing the new relations in this world, we feel deeply offended that anachronisms such as apartheid, racial discrimination and bantustanisation still exist.

"We convey solidarity to the struggle for the achievement of the just goals of the majority of the people in South Africa and their liberation movements," he said.

Relations between Zimbabwe and Yugoslavia started during the war when that country helped the Zanu (PF). Yugoslavia was, therefore one of the first countries to open a diplomatic mission in Harare after independence, he said.

"We wish you every success in charting your course and the manner of movement towards the establishment of Socialism," he said.



SECURITY AT ALL SUB-STATIONS 'IMPRACTICAL'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Aug 84 p 5

[Text]

DURBAN. — Candidates in the Durban Municipal elections in the Glenwood and Umbilo areas have called for increased protection of electrical sub-stations, which now appears to have become the targets for bomb attacks.

But according to the Deputy City electrical engineer, Mr Don Hill, there are about 6 000 sub-stations in the Durban municipal area and it would be impractical to provide security at all of them.

Mr Hill said yesterday it would not be practical to fence off all the electrical sub-stations. The major sub-stations which fed a number of the smaller

sub-stations were protected.

Several candidates have written to the Town Clerk of Durban asking for additional protection for sub-stations.

Mr Mike Jack, who is a candidate in Ward 8, said yesterday that the Durban City Council should look into ways of increasing security.

Two sub-stations have been attacked and badly damaged in the Durban area in the past month.

This week a sub-station in Queen Mary Avenue was badly damaged and in late June a sub-station in Musgrave Road was also put out of operation by a blast.

CSO: 3400/2029

## COLOURED, INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN NEW DISPENSATION HIT

Durban POST NATAL in English 4-8 Jul 84 p 11

[Article by Ameen Akhalwaya in the "My View" column: "Inextricably Intertwined in Uncle Tom's Cabinet"]

[Text]

A COUPLE of weeks ago, local newspapers quoted an Indian politician as saying the coloured and Indian communities are inextricably intertwined.

If I recall correctly, it was a President's Councillor who said so while trying to justify why Indians should be allowed to join the coloured Labour Party.

He referred to the number of "mixed" marriages in these communities, where the members of some families are classified under one category and others under another.

That the two communities are "intertwined" has been evident for nearly a century.

## Blessed

So, if we take that as a reason for Indians and coloureds getting together in the Labour Party, why leave out

whites and Africans?

There are many white-Indian marriages, blessed under religious rights, and the number appears to be on the increase, despite the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts. And there are also many coloured-white marriages.

So the coloured-Indian-white communities are also intertwined, which means the sensible thing for the Labour Party to do would be to open its ranks to whites as well.

Then there are also Indian-African marriages, white-African marriages and, of course, coloured-African marriages — some legal from the days before the Nats outlawed black-white marriages, and others "illegal" but quite legal in the eyes of God.

So all these communities are inextricably intertwined and it would be logical for the Labour Party then to demand that it be allowed to accept members

from any of the inextricably intertwined communities.

For the moment though, Labour isn't saying much about it. Perhaps it is taking the matter step by step as it tries to get the Government to change the ban on racially mixed political parties.

Indians and whites won't be much of a problem. Most Indians will probably opt to remain with the UDF-affiliated bodies such as the Transvaal and the Natal Indian Congress, or with Azapo.

Most whites will remain with the Nats, the Progs, the NRP and the CP.

But then comes the crunch. What about Africans?

## Foreigners

How is Labour going to accommodate people who are "foreigners" in terms of Nat ideology? One report at the weekend said Labour had signed on an African community councillor

in the Karoo. If so will Labour then go the whole hog and contest future community council elections? Will it be prepared to field candidates, determined solely on ethnic-tribal bases, in the "independent" bantustan elections? Will it dare to challenge Inkatha in KwaZulu? And most important, will it embark on a membership drive in African townships to confirm its boast that it will act as spokesman for the African people?

Labour leader Allan Hendrickse and his party have a little explaining to do.

It is difficult to believe, as Mr Hendrickse has suggested, that Labour will pull out of the coming elections if the Government refuses to allow it to field Indian candidates for the Indian House.

Labour has staked its credibility on the elections and it wouldn't be too keen on pulling out and then being told by all and sundry: "We told you so."

And, of course, if Labour does participate — even if it is not allowed to contest the Indian elections — its credibility will be shattered.

Perhaps then the Indian and coloured chambers will try to regain their credibility by creating all sorts of "cabinet" portfolios.

## Favourite

Mr JN Reddy is odds-on favourite to be the first Indian Cabinet Minister in Mr PW Botha's new Cabinet, which will in time come to be called "Uncle Tom's Cabinet". And Prof Richard van der Ross is favourite to be the first coloured person in Mr Botha's Cabinet.

But there will be plenty of other posts to fill in the Indian and coloured "cabinets" to deal with "own affairs".

The obvious one to start with will be the formation of a Ministry of White Affairs by both chambers.

After all, with Indians and coloureds being inextricably intertwined with whites, they will have to deal with matters pertaining to whites in their group

areas — for example, the entry of white businesses in their areas, the problems of reclassifying children of "mixed" parentage, the ownership of houses and how the assets would be shared if one of the spouses is classified white, and so forth.

Then a Ministry of African Affairs could be created by the Indian and coloured chambers to deal with the hundreds of thousands of Africans whose lives are inextricably intertwined with coloureds and Indians.

The Ministry could deal with such things as pass laws and their prosecution in Indian and coloured areas, the provision of schooling and welfare services for the children of African employees living in those group areas, and race classification and other matters similar to those dealt with by the Ministry of White Affairs.

The coloured chamber would obviously also have a Minister of Indian Affairs to deal with matters arising from the inextricable intertwining between coloured and Indian

people.

For the same reason, the Indian chamber would have a Minister of Coloured Affairs.

The Indian "cabinet" could also have a Minister of Information whose responsibility would be radio and TV programmes under "own affairs". The responsible Minister could then decide whether organisations such as the UDF, Azapo and Sacos should be given time to air their views without a single question being put to them, as the SABC did recently for the NPP, PIP and Solidarity in its *News Focus* TV programme.

It will, therefore, be interesting to know, before we are asked via the SABC to cast our votes come August, what types of "cabinets" the various parties intend to humour us with.

**FOOTNOTE:** If there is anyone still naive enough to believe that the SABC's "news" and political comment programmes are not propaganda vehicles for the Nats he/she should have watched

TV1's 8pm "news" last Wednesday (June 27). An item said briefly that Bishop Desmond Tutu had called, at the SA Council of Churches' conference, for the boycott of the coloured and Indian elections.

Then Mr Hendrickse and spokesmen for two minor coloured parties attacked Bishop Tutu's views.

This type of reporting is unsubtle propaganda. Why did the SABC not report the Bishop's views in full, why did it not say what the reaction of the rest of the SACC delegates was, and why did it not canvass the views of those political bodies that would have supported the Bishop's call?

For the simple reason that "His Master's Voice" wants to let you hear the voice mainly of those who support His Master.

How utterly disgraceful to use our money, the taxpayer's money, for such a purpose.

GOVERNMENT-PAID OFFICIALS SEEN DOMINATING DWANDEBELE PARLIAMENT

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 22 Jul 84 p 2

[Text] KWANDEBELE, the homeland that opted for "independence" without bothering with an election or a referendum, is going to be dominated by Government-paid chiefs and nominated Members of Parliament.

Just 16 of the minimum of 68 KwaNdebele MPs will be directly elected by the people.

But the way things are going, the tiny homeland barely has enough citizens to fill its Parliament--let alone vote for people to sit there.

According to a new Government Gazette outlining the system of government in what will be the least democratic of the homelands, only 52 people applied for KwaNdebele citizenship last year--although 256 348 people are eligible.

In the Gazette, the Ndzunza (Mabhoko) tribal authority is allowed to choose 21 members, the Manala (Mbongo) authority seven, the other tribal authorities six, the community authorities two, and the chiefs of the Ndzunza and Manala tribe two each.

Each chief is allowed to choose one member, the urban board four and the Chief Minister four.

The remaining 16 members will be elected by "the voters of KwaNdebele", who all have to be citizens--as do the chiefs.

What this all means is that there is no way Simon Skosana's government is going to be ousted by popular will.

After all, an unelected government which decides to deprive people of their South African citizenship is hardly going to bother itself with the views of the people--or allow any possibility that he could be unseated in an election.

The regulations also provide for members of the legislative assembly to take an oath: "I swear to respect and uphold the constitution of KwaNdebele and all other laws applicable in KwaNdebele, and promise to perform my duties to the best of my ability."

## SOLIDARITY PARTY'S REDDY REJECTS ELECTION BOYCOTT

Durban POST NATAL in English 25-29 Jul 84 p 24

[Text]

**□ Until the elections, MY VIEW will interview various black politicians and ask the kind of questions viewers won't hear from SABC-TV. This is the second and final part of an interview with Mr J N Reddy (right), leader of the Solidarity Party, on participation in the August elections for the new Indian House of Delegates. Last week, Mr Reddy talked of the need for economic upliftment while working for a political solution.**

**□ QUESTION:** If the white Parliament is responsible to the white electorate, and if the whites see their interests subjugated because of the parliamentary structure, the minority groups will not advance at the expense of whites. Isn't that the crux of the problem?

**□ REDDY:** That would appear to be the position; the white Parliament has to protect the interests of white people. But if it is going to implement a plan of action designed to ensure that free enterprise becomes a reality — to which the Prime Minister and his Government are committed ... Earlier, I mentioned that no process of reform has any hope of success until and unless the underdeveloped sector is assisted to move

forward.

But to reconcile that sector and the formal sector I don't think is a serious problem because each has a role.

More important, it is absolutely necessary that the underdeveloped group move out from the rut in which they find themselves, through no fault of their own.

We have a duty, particularly we members of the Indian community. We have a track record of progress in the face of impediments placed in our way; we probably have the experience and the kind of recommendations and suggestions that ought to be made to help these other people.

**□ Q:** The same kind of arguments were advanced when the sports policy was first introduced. We were repea-

tedly told that if we moved too fast, the whites would retreat into the laager. Yet with the ongoing boycotts, the most significant breakdown of racial barriers have occurred in sport.

Would that not be an example to show that we are not going to be party to this type of political structure, and so bring on sufficient pressure for real change?

**□ R:** So far as politics are concerned, we must look much deeper because whether one likes it or not, there is, within the total white society, a reluctance to make any drastic political changes. There is no doubt about it.

Everybody is concerned that they don't want to move from one situation into anarchy and chaos. That is why I

believe we will ultimately find the ideal answers for the peaceful existence of all South Africans. But it is going to come in instalments.

By demonstrating that this tricameral Parliament, however, limited its potential, can work for the good of all, we are going to generate even more confidence in the hearts and minds of white people to open up more and cover a wider spectrum of SA society.

Another fear — and one of the reasons Solidarity and I as leader are going into this new dispensation — is that you must remember there is still a Rightwing element; Rightwing not only because it comes from that part of the Transvaal, but also that that kind of thinking permeates a wide

spectrum of white society. From time to time, you have evidence of the repercussions.

If the Prime Minister's moves away from this rigid white Parliament are not assisted by the people who want peaceful change, we could well have a situation where the Rightwingers can take over and any chance of change would come to a halt because after all, politicians are in power because they want to stay in power.

If we don't change the existing structure, however limited it may be, and thwart these Rightwingers who want to maintain the status quo, we might again be helping people who want to hold the country where it is now.

Q: That brings us back to the sports question. The same argument was advanced about whites going into the laager, and yet, the same Rightwingers who have the power to take over all white sports organisations, haven't done so. In fact, they have continued to participate with and against blacks. So that threat has not materialised.

R: Therefore it points to the fact that once the process of reform starts it cannot be held back. What you are saying about sport will also happen once the process of reform starts. It can't be stopped.

The latest amend-

ments to the operations of the new Parliament, where the Speaker now has the right to determine when the three chambers can be brought together for discussions is a tremendous departure from what was first mentioned.

That again demonstrates that reform breeds more reform.

Q: In that context, the more boycotts and isolation there have been, the more concessions have been made in sport. It wasn't the sportsmen who went in who brought more reform, it was the pressure of the Sacos boycott and the international boycott that brought about changes.

R: One must not equate the sports boycott with the political set-up, for the simple reason that the world has been trying since 1946 to impose sanctions against SA as a means of bringing it to its knees.

If anything, it has had the exact opposite effect. The country's economy is so developed that SA is now laughing at the world.

I'm prepared to concede the point you have made about sport, but I don't think that on an analysis of the factual position that that can be applied to a political set-up, because the white people have demonstrated that in the face of this kind of

threat, they have the resources to succeed.

Q: You are on record as favouring military conscription for Indian people. Is that still your view?

R: The NIC and TIC picked up a report in a Cape paper following a debate in the SAIC in 1975 when the Ex-Servicemen's League approached us and said they wanted military training for the Indian people.

Even in that article, fortunately, I said this could only be done if the Indian community expressed a desire for such training. We did not take that decision.

If anyone reads that article properly, that point is clear — that Indian people must give their approval.

Q: Is that still your position?

R: My position is simply this: that at this moment, Indians are volunteering for training — in fact, there aren't facilities to take all who come forward — but we cannot and will not agree to conscription for Indians unless and until all restrictions based on colour are removed.

Q: Assuming the Government removes all racial barriers against Indian and coloured people, would you then accept conscription?

R: This is a matter we will consider at that point. After all, they are making the point that as the law stands now, the Government can ask tomorrow for compulsory military participation. Solidarity will oppose it as long as there is discrimination.

Q: How consistent will Solidarity be, given, for example, Pat Poovalingam's reported enthusiasm for white soldiers on the border?

R: Solidarity's position is clear. By our party's presence in Parliament, at least we can express the opposition of the Indian community to conscription, and give valid reasons why we oppose it.

Q: If the majority of people boycott the elections, will Solidarity be able to say it speaks on behalf of the Indian community?

R: That question I'm not prepared to consider now. I'm taking an optimistic attitude. On the basis of our work with the people, we find they are very keen to participate.

What is required now is to assist them and ensure they go to the polling booth on election day. I can only pass judgment after the election.

(Report by Ameen Akhaway, 12, Main Street, Johannesburg)



## INDIAN VOTERS FACED WITH DILEMMA

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Boeti Eshak]

[Text] INDIAN voters could be faced with the dilemma when they go to the polls on August 28 to elect 40 people to represent them in the tricameral Parliament.

Nominations for the House of Delegates close tomorrow, but there is a large number of hopeful independents who want to get into the Indian chamber of the new Parliament.

Reports from various parts of the country indicate that more than 150 people will be vying for the 40 seats (29 in Natal, eight in the Transvaal and three in the Cape) in the House of Delegates.

In Lenasia, Transvaal, which has three constituencies, there is a possibility of 20 candidates, while the large central Rand area will have at least six people, including Mrs Rashida Ebrahim, the only woman candidate.

According to a spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs, five Indian political parties have registered:

--The National People's Party (NPP), led by the chairman of the executive of the South African Indian Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and based in Durban.

--The Solidarity Party (SP), led by former SAIC executive chairman Dr J N Reddy, also based in Durban.

--The Progressive Independent Party (PIP) is the only one with its headquarters outside Natal. It is led by Lenasia-based Mr Faiz Khan.

--Mr M A Begg's National Federal Party (NFP) is another party with its headquarters in Durban.

--The National Democratic Party (NDP) is led by Mr M I Khan, with its base in Harding, Natal.



Although a total of 329 969 Indians have been registered as voters (12 311 in the Cape, 56 085 in the Transvaal and 261 969 in Natal), party workers found that a number of names have been duplicated.

Some voters' names appear twice--with the old identity card and the new Book of Life numbers. Others, who have moved, are listed in their new areas as well as at their old addresses.

Groups and organisations opposed to participation in the tricameral Parliament--Azapo, the United Democratic Front, and the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses--have already embarked on a programme of persuading people not to vote.

CSO: 3400/2026

## NIC PRESIDENT OUTLINES REASONS FOR BOYCOTT

Durban POST NATAL in English 1-5 Aug 84 p 14

[Article by

[Text]

□ FOR the past two weeks, this column has been devoted to a question-and-answer interview with J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, which is taking part in the first election for the new Indian house of Parliament on August 28. TODAY we publish the first of a two-part interview with George Sewpersadh (right) president of the Natal Indian Congress, which is boycotting the election.

□ QUESTION: *People who are participating in the election claim they are going in to fight for a more democratic society, and that those staying out are being obstructive. How do you see it?*

□ SEWERSHAD: By going in, Indians and coloureds have no chance to improve the lot of the oppressed or bring about democracy.

The new Constitution has been, conceived, planned and launched by a racist government with the purpose of entrenching racialism, and those going in will only be helping the Government implement its plan.

No law, even with regard to "own affairs", can be passed without the consent of the President. So in that sense, the Indians and coloureds have no say in bringing about legal changes towards democracy without the consent of white people.

Indians and coloureds can only legislate in regard to "own affairs", which are insignificant.

General affairs are discussed in the President's Council, which is overwhelmingly white.

The African majority is totally opposed to this Constitution.

By going in, Indians and coloureds will only increase racial bitterness and thereby not make it possible to bring an end to violence.

Democracy in this country can only be realised by the mass of the people participating; that is, by getting the majority of people involved in the struggle for freedom. We who are struggling outside the tricameral system are working with all the races to bring about a nonracial democratic South Africa.

The people going in are in fact obstructing the move towards democracy.

They have no history in the political struggle outside the government-created institutions. They have no mass support.

They have not worked with the people, and by going in, they are making it easier for the Government to entrench apartheid.

□ Q: *You're talking about the first tier of government. What about local government? Would you be helping your cause at a level where those who go in will have some power, for example in the autonomous municipalities?*

□ S: We are still opposed to participation, even at local government level. Areas that produce income at local level are commercial and industrial areas, which are not Indian and coloured areas.

So Indian and coloured areas will not be able to provide the amenities people require.

The purpose of the Constitution is to divide the coloured, African and Indian people. In the long term this will never benefit the oppressed people, because if they are divid-

ed, it is easier for the Government to go on oppressing the entire black community.

A united, democratic society with peace and harmony cannot be achieved in a system based on racial lines.

Also, the way the new local government system works means that coloured and Indian people will no longer be part of the cities in which they have lived all their lives and which they helped build.

Local government also has very little power to provide certain amenities, and it can't really provide for the needs for which people have struggled and sacrificed, like better housing and wages.

□ Q: *Until you are on the way to a democratic society, people still have to live. They will still have problems like housing, which will be controlled by whoever is in charge of the local authority... If you say stooges and sellouts*

*will be running the show, won't you and the community in any case still have to negotiate with them?*

□ S: For better housing generally, you will find the local authorities won't have the money. The money will still have to come from central government loans so the local authorities themselves won't be able to provide the houses.

They won't have the power to improve the most important aspect — wages, which are fixed by private enterprise and by Government policy. The local authority stooges won't be able to provide the amenities the people want, and the people will come to see that the local authorities are a waste of time.

□ Q: *The NIC has been fighting these issues only in the Indian community. If you are talking about a democratic South Africa in which "coloureds" and Africans are not separate from the greater South African community, why has the NIC not fought the issues in the coloured and African areas?*

□ S: In our struggle, we are co operating with coloureds and Africans at all levels.

We are an affiliate of the UDF, we are members of the RMC (Release Mandela Committee) and together with our association with the UCC, we are building a non-racial mass-movement fighting

for democracy.

It takes time and we are in the process of building that movement. That is our basic aim.

□ Q: *How much support does the NIC have in its call for a boycott*

□ S: We have a very large support. It has been shown by the support for the boycott of the 1981 SAIC elections. We have seen the support in our activities. And we have found that the attitude of the people towards the new constitution is the same as it was towards the SAIC.

They see it as the continuation of the same policy in a new guise. I have no doubt that there will be an overwhelming boycott of the elections.

□ Q: *Would you see a boycott as support for the NIC?*

□ S: The boycott to a larger extent will be support for the NIC.

□ Q: *But there are people who will be boycotting because they are members of other organisations. And even those who don't belong to any organisations will boycott.*

□ S: There are certain numbers of people who are boycotting who are not NIC members. But in our campaign, through our work and contact in the community, we have found that a large number of people will boycott the election because the NIC has called for it.

□ Q: *Do you not think that the most effective*

*way of showing a positive support for your aims would have been for the NIC to participate in the election and then refuse to take up seats in the new House?*

□ S: No. A number of organisations are opposed to this Constitution, and the moment we say we are participating we will create confusion and misunderstanding in the Indian community as well as other communities.

We have discussed this tactic, but it is not viable now.

That doesn't mean it won't be viable in five years time. It may or may not be. We haven't closed our mind to it.

But the NIC doesn't take decisions by 10 people sitting in a boardroom. We have to be able to carry the community with us.

We are a democratic organisation. From our work in the community, it is clear that they are not in favour of Congress standing for election and then not participating. They are overwhelmingly against participation in the tricameral system.

□ Q: *Earlier you mentioned that people going in have no history of struggle outside government-created institutions. What about someone like J N Reddy, who has some support and is credited with having the Grey Street Complex being*

*declared an Indian area?*

□ S: In the struggle waged by people over the years, the struggle for freedom and the sacrifices they made under the mass movements that developed in the Fifties, it is clear the Government could not go on with its old policies while not making any concessions to the oppressed people.

The Government was forced to make a certain number of concessions to placate the opposition of black people.

Whatever economic improvements have been made, whatever housing developments have taken place, are a result of the normal developments that would have taken place in any case.

The struggle involved all the oppressed people — Indians, coloureds and Africans. It was a united struggle. The Government is now trying to break this unity by coming up with this plan of separate development institutions.

And whatever concessions it has been forced to make, it has channelled through these institutions to give them more credibility.

These institutions have by no means been the cause of those concessions.

In other words, whether the SAIC or J N Reddy had been there or not, the Government would still have been forced to declare the Grey Street complex an Indian area.

ALL OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID URGED TO JOIN PFP

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 27 Jul 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Gimmick--or Genuine?"]

[Text]

The endeavours of the Rev Alan Hendrickse and his Labour Party to bring about a repeal of the Political Interference Act is commendable. After all, everyone who has any sense at all agrees that this piece of legislation is as unnecessary as it is harmful.

Mr Hendrickse is a forceful leader with declared political convictions of a high order. Whatever may be thought by some of certain of the Indian recruits to his Party, this leader is not given to gimmickry. His declared opposition to racial discrimination imposed by law must there be taken seriously. And supported.

But of course, Mr Hendrickse will not want any form of racialism to be retained. Not even in political parties. After all, if the gates were opened only vis-a-vis the Coloured and Indian South Africans, racialism will remain will it not?

It must therefore be presumed that the Labour Party leader will want the unwanted Act to be repealed *in toto*.

After all, he did publicly declare that unless the Government removed the impediments to the Labour Party fielding Indian candidates for his Party for the House of Delegates, the Labour Party may pull out of the elections. In the

event, he did not withdraw. He relented after an agreement with Minister de Klerk that the whole matter will be referred to a joint committee of all three Houses.

That was a useful concession to be wrung from the Minister. And of course, everyone who is elected to either the House of Representatives or of Delegates, if he is honest, must press for the total repeal of the Political Interference Act.

And of course when that is achieved, there will be no further need for either the Labour Party or Solidarity or any of the other 'non-White' political parties to remain in existence.

For if there is no bar to non-racial political parties existing legally and being able to field candidates to any or all of the three Houses of Parliament, then all those who genuinely oppose apartheid can simply join the Progressive Federal Party. If they are genuine.

For then there will be no need whatsoever for racially organised political parties. The Rev. Hendrickse will be doing the cause of non-racialism a service if he were to make a public declaration to this effect and call upon other political parties to do likewise.

LP OPPONENTS 'IN DANGER OF LOSING ELECTIONS'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Norman West]

[Text] THE leaders of the three coloured political parties which will oppose the Labour Party in the House of Representatives elections are all in danger of losing the elections.

Despite a last-minute scramble among the 207 candidates on nomination day this week to lodge their deposits, indications are that about 100 parliamentary hopefuls may lose their R400 deposits on August 22.

This election, say observers, may go down in history as the "election of lost deposits".

Of the 207, more than half, including most of the 30 independent candidates, are new faces on the political scene and have no election machinery to back them.

Tomorrow is the nomination day for the House of Delegates, for which elections will be held on August 28.

Six Indian members of the Labour Party will be nominated to contest elections for Transvaal seats in the House of Delegates and two for Natal seats a party spokesman said yesterday.

The three opposition parties standing against the Rev. Allan Hendrickse's LP in the 76 contested constituencies are the People's Congress, Party (PCP) of Mr Peter Marais, based in Cape Town with 59 candidates in the field; the Freedom Party (FP) of Mr Arthur Booysen, based in the Transvaal with 23 candidates and the Reformed Freedom Party (RFP) of Mr Charles Julies, based in Port Elizabeth with 23 candidates.

Even if the FP and the RFP win all their seats they are destined to become minority parties with only token representation.

The election of LP Free State leader, Mr Phillip Sanders (Eastern Free State) unopposed and of Mr David Curry, president of the powerful Association of Management Committees and former national chairman of the LP, unopposed in Pniel (Stellenbosch) came as no surprise.

The men have unrivalled track records in their constituencies and if anyone had dared to challenge them would most certainly have lost their deposits.

#### Surprise

What does come as a surprise is that the PCP thought it wise to put up a candidate, Mr Abdul Wahad Tyrie, against LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse in Swartkops (Uitenhage).

Mr Tyrie is a top party organiser and East Cape leader for the PCP but is generally regarded as too much of a newcomer to be a serious threat to Mr Hendrickse whose political track record and popularity in Uitenhage is unrivalled.

Certain of marching to Parliament with Mr Curry and Mr Sanders are Mr Godfrey Leeuw (LP, South Coast Free State) and Mr Neville Padiachy (LP, Genadendal).

The fact that the LP already have four members in the House of Representatives puts them psychologically ahead in the race for domination.

One of the most interesting contests will be in Addo in the Eastern Cape where a "grudge" campaign has already begun among three candidates.

Here Mr Ivan Daniels, 48, a building contractor and former LP strongman, of Grahamstown, is to oppose the LP's official candidate, Mr Peter Hendrickse, 26, son of the LP leader.

To add another dimension to this interesting contest, the leader of the RFP, Mr Charles Julies, also an East Cape man, will oppose Mr Hendrickse and Mr Daniels.

The Rev Hendrickse has pledged to assist his son in winning the Addo seat and has already appeared on platforms in the constituency.

A split vote risk faces the leader of the PCP, Mr Peter Marais, who chose to stand in Bishop Lavis, in the Cape Peninsula, against the LP Peninsula chairman, Mr Nick Isaacs.

With the LP's election machinery backing Mr Isaacs, a former traffic officer and a hardworking community worker, Mr Marais will have to pull out all stops to beat him and retain the leadership of the PCP when the new parliament meets.

#### Dim

The same dim prospect faces the leader of the Freedom Party

With the charismatic and articulate Transvaal leader of the LP, Mr Jac Rabie, leading the LP election campaign in the Transvaal and backing LP's Mr D D Nieuwenhoudt against FP leader, Mr Arthur Booysen, Mr Booysen's political future also hangs in the balance.

CSO: 3400/2026



## CAUSES OF THREATENING ECONOMIC 'DISASTER' EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 p 23

[Article by Trevor Bell]

[Text]

AS the country moves from severe economic recession to what threatens to become an economic disaster, the need to understand the causes of our troubles and the proper responses to them has become more urgent than ever.

One notion that must be disposed of at the outset is that our problems have been caused by excessively rapid growth in government expenditure, and that the remedy for them must primarily be cutbacks in this sphere.

A long-term rising ratio of government expenditure to gross domestic product (GDP) is not a uniquely South African phenomenon, but from the late 1960s on is evidenced in nearly all the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe and North America.

Its cause is worldwide economic stagnation. In South Africa's case the long-term tendency for the government-expenditure ratio to rise has been comparatively slight.

It is only during the severe recessions which have followed our two major gold booms that the ratio has risen sharply because of a sharply declining GDP, and created a serious fiscal problem.

## Uncertain

These severe recessions have clearly not occurred be-

cause profligate increases in government expenditure have "crowded out" private investment.

Rather, with the price of gold on the decline since 1980-81, and the outlook very uncertain, businessmen have had no desire to invest more than they have done.

Thus the two severe recessions (of 1975-78, and from late 1981 to the present) and the accompanying marked increases in the government-expenditure ratio have both been due simply to a collapsing gold price and the fall in private sector activity induced by this.

It is also not true that lax monetary and fiscal policies are responsible for our balance of payments problems. These have been primarily caused by the very same factors responsible for the slow growth rate and severe recession: stagnation in the world economy and a fluctuating gold price.

Nor can deflationary monetary and fiscal policies be the answer to our most pressing problems, the slow growth of output and employment.

Such deflationary policies, while they may be necessary to limit the size of the balance of payments and budgetary deficits, clearly have the undesirable side effect of reducing output and employment growth.

## Vital

It is unrealistic, in the cur-

rently depressed and highly protectionist world economic conditions, to imagine that deflationary policies, by curbing the rate of inflation in South Africa, can induce an export-led increase in our rate of industrial expansion.

Where, then, are we to turn? If much of the deflationary pressure on the South African economy (including sharp declines in the price of gold) originates abroad, the way in which we regulate our monetary and trade links with the rest of the world is bound to be vital. Foreign exchange and foreign trade policies are therefore crucial.

In the sphere of foreign-exchange markets, the declared aim of the Government is the establishment of a system of completely freely floating exchange rates, and some major steps have already been taken in that direction. This has been hailed as a triumph of free-market reason over outdated interventionist policies, but it is no such thing.

On the contrary, it has been a disaster which provides a sorry example of the dangers of the blind adulation of the free market which has taken hold of the country in the past few years.

## Aggravated

The system of the financial rand was abolished in February 1983 at a time when the price of gold had risen significantly over the previous

year to nearly \$800, but almost immediately thereafter it began its sharp decline.

This fall in the price of gold would on its own have put severe downward pressure on the rand, raised interest rates and deepened our recession, but the large-scale disinvestment and other speculation against the rand, facilitated by the abolition of the financial rand, unquestionably aggravated these problems.

Because of the curious silence on this subject which has prevailed both in the financial Press and even among academics in this country, these remarks may ring strangely.

It is therefore worth noting that the London Financial Times some months ago diagnosed our ills correctly when, commenting on our exchange control policy, it stated that "foreign sales (on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange) have certainly contributed in the past few months to a substantial outflow of capital, and this has been a serious enough drain on the liquidity of the domestic banks to be the major factor behind the sharp rise in the South African interest rates".

## Blunder

While the Government obviously cannot be held responsible for the fall in the price of gold, the abolition of the financial rand, in the midst of a severe recession and with the future price of gold clouded in uncertainty, was an inexcusable gamble and a major policy blunder.

What is more, in my view no adequate justification has ever been publicly given for these exchange-rate reforms.

What these reforms have done (by, *inter alia*, facilitating speculative movements of capital) is to increase the potential swings in the exchange rate, interest rates, real output and employment in an economy already subject to considerable instability.

The objective of a freely floating exchange rate is totally inappropriate for an economy such as South Africa's. For good reasons, no country at a stage of development comparable to ours operates such an exchange rate system.

For a small, open, relatively underdeveloped economy whose main export is subject to highly erratic and unpredictable price movements, to attempt to do so is simply to invite trouble.

There is an urgent need in the current economic crisis to introduce an effective system of exchange controls to help us restore equilibrium in the balance of payments without undue reliance on deflationary monetary and fiscal measures.

What is also needed, as another emergency measure for dealing with our balance of payments difficulties, is a system of selective import controls.

The Volkskas report of some few weeks back argued that "given the current economic problems and the circumstances that aggravate them, the imposition of import control on luxury goods and products available locally, more stringent hire-purchase conditions and a 'Buy

South African' campaign may serve a useful purpose".

This came as a breath of fresh air from among a collection of otherwise entirely predictable statements from the financial sector.

It is precisely these policies, in the area of our international economic relations, which are likely to be most conducive to the growth of output and employment, which must be our primary objective.

## Obsessed

However, as noted earlier, commentators seem to be obsessed with government expenditure. In particular, at present they are haunted by the fear that Indian and Coloured representatives in the new parliament will make excessive demands on the state coffers.

This may well create a problem if the Indian and Coloured members do no more than this.

However, if they understand the interests of their constituents (as well as those of blacks — and the vast majority of whites, for that matter) they may well favour policies more conducive to growth and employment creation.

Against the possibility of destructive squabbling over budgetary shares, therefore, must be set the more unifying possibility of a major shift in policy, hopefully under Mr Barend du Plessis's leadership, away from a doctrinaire adulation of free markets, towards one of South Africa first.

## INFLUENCE OF COLOURED, INDIAN POLITICIANS 'QUESTIONED'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 p 23

[Article by Brian Pottinger and Norman West]

[Text]

THE hustings for the House of Representatives — polling day is now only six weeks away — began slowly, have proceeded cautiously and are in danger of ending ambiguously.

The problem has nothing to do with the democratic experience itself. Coloured communities were participants in various legislative bodies for generations until they were stripped of the vote.

The real dilemma in the 1984 elections is how a handful of establishment coloured political figures can mobilise and inspire communities which have been reduced to apathy or anger because of their earlier experiences with sham democratic bodies.

## Policies

The contest, as it slowly unfolds, is thus a strangely introverted, defensive and cautious nibble at what some call "reform" and others brand as a "sham".

Differences in style between the coloured elections and white general elections are dictated by the circumstances.

The first problem has

to do with resources. All the parties are strapped for cash. The Labour Party had to ask for R1 000 from each candidate for election costs, raise loans on the basis of donations from future MPs' salaries and through consultancies trawl for money from business and other sources.

In terms of elections, it will be a shoestring affair.

The SABC will probably give less air time to these elections than it would to a white election, and the problems the establishment parties have in holding the public meetings (the toll in broken chairs is by now enormous) will serve to retain the hustings' low profile.

A second difference relates to policies.

Few coloured parties have coherent policy platforms apart from a broad commitment to unitary systems, universal franchise and a broadly socialist society.

So far the only really contentious point of departure — one would hesitate to call it an election issue — has been conscription. The Labour Party is opposed to it and the smaller conservative parties in favour.

Nuances of difference

also exist on the role blacks should play in government, from the Labour Party's demand for the inclusion of blacks and the smaller conservative parties' reservations.

## Boycotts

A coloured "nationalism" such as gave political impetus to the Afrikaner's climb to power is not a factor. Only a few ultra-right groups like the Constitutional Action Committee and the quasi-Broederbond Patriot support the idea.

Mobilisation of voters will be on the basis of opposition to apartheid, concerns for bread-and-butter issues and more general against-the-Government politicking.

The third major difference with white elections is the boycott issue. Boycotts have a miserable record in white politics — spoilt vote and stay-away calls flopped during the referendum.

The reason is not hard to find. Whites had the vote in mainstream politics — their hands were on the real levers of power.

## Dilemma

But the coloured community has been fobbed off

with a vote in dummy organs for years. The political strength of the community was seen to lie not in the use of the vote but in its rejection. Thus the boycott tradition was born.

For whites then, elections dealt with choices between agents for political change, either reformist or anti-reformist parties. For coloureds, elections meant a choice of instruments for change, either Government-created structures or grass-roots pressure groups.

It is the same choice which confronts them now.

The establishment parties are slowly hewing out their constituencies. The Labour Party is the best organised and most national, its power-base in rural communities and some lower-income urban ones, its draw-card the prestige of its leader.

The People's Congress Party has shrewdly formed a political alliance with the Griquas, who boast a distinctive and proud tradition dating back to the original frontiersmen, thus giving the PCP power bases in the Plettenberg Bay, Kimberly and Kokstad areas.

But on the other side of the coin lie the efforts of the United Democratic

Front's affiliate bodies and the National Forum Committee's associate grass-roots organisations which are thumping the anti-election tub.

In the urban sprawls — particularly the Western Cape — the organisations have been canvassing residents, focusing on bread-and-butter issues and the supposed "co-option" of the establishment parties.

An opinion survey by a Cape Town newspaper in the Peninsula with its big concentration of voters showed the dilemma. Sixty percent of those polled had no political affiliations, were undecided or not interested.

## Violence

Over half of those registered to vote — and only 60 percent of the community registered — would turn out at the polls on August 22.

Of those who said they would vote, the strongest support by far went to the Labour Party, which tended to draw the older and less educated members of the community.

Forty-eight percent of those polled believed participating in the new constitution would help apartheid.

And a fourth — and tragic — difference between these elections and a white general election lies in the manifestations of violence, not necessarily in the breaking up of meetings (the National Party has a fairly rumbustious electioneering history itself) but in the firebombing of candidates' houses.

But despite all the obvious shortcomings and complications of the 1984 elections, one thing is certain — it cannot be ignored by the wider South African body politic.

## Impact

In some ways the impact could be quite profound. Already the trickle-through effects of the elections are apparent in government actions. One of the most revealing incidents was the brouhaha over the Political Interference Act.

By the end of that dispute — largely the result of government ignorance of the dynamics of coloured

politics — one Cabinet Minister was forced to concede that he had learnt a lot.

Probably the first thing he learnt was that one cannot override a potential future Cabinet colleague with as much ease as one can the leader of a voteless pressure group.

And the second was probably that he had better get to know his prospective colleague's constituency as well as his own.

The impact on the broad white electorate is likely to be similar — an invaluable educational excursion for whites as coloured and Indian politicians take TV time to explain their political views as aspirant co-governors of the country.

It works the other way as well. For the coloured parties — particularly the Labour Party — the accession to power, position and privilege is tantalisingly near. Power, the party's leaders are learning as never before, brings its own heavy burden of responsibility.

Thus there is a mellowing of leadership views and rhetoric. Who today remembers the Labour Par-

ty is still officially bound to a policy of disinvestment — the hallmark of the radical left?

In the final analysis the success of the election campaign that will play itself out over the next few weeks will be judged not by the personalities or calibre of the winning members, but by the extent of the support they glean.

A low poll will jeopardise the credibility of the players, some of whom have risked considerable personal prestige to take part in the new constitutional order.

## Support

It will also lead to further polarisation, not just between black and white, but more immediately within the communities themselves.

People, rather than political parties, make elections in the same way that actions rather than words make constitutions. At its simplest, these elections are a desperate battle for the hearts and minds of people — from the Cape Flats sprawls to the loneliest Karoo cottages.

CANDIDATE HITS OPPOSITION'S 'MAFIA TACTICS'

Durban POST NATAL in English 1-5 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] THE run-up to the election campaign has taken an ugly turn with some candidates claiming that "mafia tactics" are being used to force them to withdraw from the race.

Stanger's Haniff Manjoo said the terror campaign started after he announced he was to oppose Mr Yunus Moola and Mr Shan Naidoo.

He said his security staff, who acted as nightwatchmen in the town, were also harassed by "certain elements", resulting in some having to quit their jobs.

"I am also inundated with abusive and threatening telephone calls. The anonymous called have threatened to harm me and my family if I do not pull out of the elections," he said.

Bayview candidate Mr Dhanpal Naidoo--fighting a three-cornered contest against Mr George Thayer and Mr Thulkana Palan--said he and his family have also received threats from anonymous people since he announced his intention to stand for election.

"My daughter, Veloshini, got a call the other day in which she was threatened that her son would be harmed if I did not step down as a candidate," he said.

"My family is going through a traumatic time and I have asked the police for assistance. Arrangements are being made to have my telephone tapped," he said.

Mr Naidoo's son, Kiruben, travelled 10 000 kilometres to be near his father and help him prepare for the election. Kiruben is now resident in Britain.

Mr T V Padayachee, who is standing against NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said he also received abusive and threatening phone calls.

"The latest was on Monday just before I left for court to get myself nominated. I was told to withdraw as a candidate or else I would pay the penalty. Later I discovered someone had phoned the court house to say I had withdrawn as a candidate, which was not true," he said.

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SATHS COOPER: 'AFTER BOYCOTT, THE FIGHT BEGINS'

Durban POST NATAL in English 1-5 Aug 84 p 15

[Article by Kathan Pillay]

[Text]

IN June last year, some 800 delegates representing 170 black organisations met in Hammanskraal near Pretoria at the first National Forum. At that conference, plans were laid for fighting the new constitutional dispensation, and a working document for principled unity was hammered out in the form of the *Manifesto of the Azanian People*.

Last week, the second National Forum was held at the Patidar Hall in Lenasia near Johannesburg. Delegates from some 200 organisations met to plan strategies for the wrecking of the August 22 and 28 elections.

But in spite of an underlying commitment towards fighting the new Constitution, and a formal adoption of the *Manifesto*, the unrestrained unity which had characterised the previous Forum was far from visible.

In his address, convener Saths Cooper said the second Forum gathered at a time when one of the greatest dividers in the ranks of the oppressed and exploited people of this country was about to be made legal. This was one of the reasons, he said, why the second Forum was looking specifically at the August 22 and 28 elections.

A boycott or stayaway at the polls on August 22 and 28, Cooper said, was not enough.

"We must look further than that. We believe we must exercise our minds towards dismantling structures of this regime. If we achieve a low poll in the areas in which we are active, we cannot stop there.

"We must move beyond that into seeing to

the education of our people, in order that when further blows are being rained on the people by Pretoria, the people will not be led astray by treacherous and opportunistic 'leaders' and liberal influences in our midst.

"We must not have to wage campaign after

campaign on issue after issue which Pretoria will be throwing against us. The people will maintain a resilient determination to reject all forms of participation within this system that seeks to entrench our status.

"This 'consociational democracy' now being

implemented by the Botha Government is a total violation of the principles of equality and democracy and is based on the entrenchment of division and fragmentation.

"So much have we become brainwashed products of the Pretoria regime that we have begun to use their terms of reference — we have begun to speak in terms of ethnic labels, of a 'Zulu' struggle, of a 'coloured' struggle, of an 'Indian' struggle."

The Forum Committee, he said, did not believe that there were such "creatures" as "coloureds".

"They only exist in the minds of those people who are geared at earning a minimum of R40 000 per year in the new Parliament.

"And if people at this point in time continue to believe that they are 'Indian', they will have no place in a future

Azania. They must begin to prepare to go back to India," he said to applause.

Yet, in spite of the the unanimous feeling of rejection of the Government's "reform" moves and support for the *Manifesto*, it was the question of the future of the Forum itself that led to dissension among the delegates.

The dissension manifested itself mainly as an ideological rift — between supporters of the Black Consciousness grouping, Azapo, on the one hand, and the predominantly Unity Movement grouping, The Cape Action League, on the other.

CAL delegates wanted to see the Forum developed into a formalised national structure, with regional branches set up throughout the country. Azapo supporters on the other hand wanted the Forum to be a "sounding-board" for non-collabo-

rationist organisations to work out common goals.

The question of structure eventually overshadowed the keynote issue of the elections and was left unresolved.

Cooper later admitted that the lack of consensus on the issue was disturbing.

"But when we consider the number of political groupings present, it is definitely a positive sign that we had so little dissent, and at that on an issue that wasn't central to our immediate objectives."

It was essential, he said, in spite of the dissension to view the second Forum in a "positive" light.

"This is the first time that so many different political tendencies have met together under one roof and could agree on a common programme without necessarily giving up their ideological positions. The last time

this happened was the All-Africa Convention of 1943.

"We have agreed on an ongoing national awareness campaign when the system presents us with blows. We are going to involve ourselves with ongoing constructive mobilisation."

On the question of structure, Cooper said his personal feeling was that the Forum should remain without a particular ideological line.

"I think we should be accommodative of all resistance groups on the minimum basis of the principles enshrined in the *Manifesto*."

But, he said, the question of structure would be finally resolved on December 14 in Cape Town when there would be a post-mortem summit on the election campaign and a focus on ways and means of dismantling the new constitutional system.



SUGGESTIONS FOR CONTINUED PROBE OF OIL PURCHASE SCANDAL GIVEN

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 11 Jul 84 p 10

[Editorial: "SA's Oil Purchases"]

[Text]

Any dispassionate mind reading the report of the Advocate-General, Justice P. J. van der Walt, to Parliament on South Africa's oil dealings, cannot help being disquieted, no matter that he found there was no evidence of "improper enrichment" of any persons.

For he was equally categorical in his finding that control over the many millions of rands spent in these deals needed tightening up.

The expenditure, handled by a committee of three (whose credentials are not in question), is virtually unaudited. The report urged that there should be parliamentary control through the Auditor-General and added bluntly that had there been this control, "criticism and gossip of the kind that necessitated this inquiry would largely have been forestalled".

On the separate issue of the earlier Salem scandal the Advocate-General found that "some people might have got money irregularly at the State's expense".

The debate in Parliament, unfortunately, resolved itself into a slanging match between the official opposition, whose leader, Dr Slabbert, had drawn the matter to the Prime Minister's attention in

the first place, and the rest of the House. The official opposition, quite rightly in our opinion, are not prepared to let the matter rest and want a multi-party Select Committee to continue the investigation.

That call has the full backing of this newspaper and, we are sure, very many of its concerned readers.

We would suggest three points which should be high on the Select Committee's list should it be appointed. The first two are those made by official opposition spokesmen: how to establish a more satisfactory procedure for financing the purchase of oil — a procedure that would come under the scrutiny of Parliament; and, second, to try to identify any persons who may have been "enriched" in the Salem affair.

The third we would consider of vital concern to the government: how a person, well versed in this country's oil dealings, was able to get hold of highly secret documents, or copies of them, and, for motives of his own, pass them on.

That the Leader of the Opposition got a copy, we know. But who else, the government should be wondering, may also have been fed this information?

GOVERNMENT DECONCENTRATION POLICY SPURS INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Johannesburg INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 24 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Lynn Carlisle]

[Text] GROWTH points are getting fat on Government's deconcentration policy as funds granted to industrial investors leap to record levels.

A spread of new incentives packages geared to bridge the longer term disadvantages of establishing factories and other businesses away from main centres is luring economic growth in an otherwise slumbering economy.

An Industrial Week survey shows the economic drought is not so harsh in the so-called "sleepy hallows", such as Bronkhorstspuit (northeast of Johannesburg), Maritzburg, Atlantis (outside Cape Town), East London, Bloemfontein and the Far North.

This is where the action is, and the Decentralisation Board, which has revealed a mammoth expenditure over the past two years of R3,7-billion, is chalking up one success after another in its implementation of a national policy to get new and established organisations to "pastures greener".

Dougie de Beer, chairman of the Board, at present drawing up his annual report, says that things are on the up, in line with targeting growth away for the PWV.

New Successes

New successes are being figured out for disclosure later this year. But if the trend over the past two years is anything to go by a 50% improvement in development away from the hub areas may prove mildly optimistic.

Between April 1982 and March 1983, there were 777 applications approved for new establishments or extensions to existing factories. Last year this increased to 1 190 resulting in 69 914 new jobs.

This does not mean that approval of incentives and other privileges has become easier. If anything, due to the tough economic climate and cut-throat competition, it has tightened up.

"The viability of projects is determined by the authorities supporting these project, such as ourselves and the IDC, only after much consultation and investigation," says De Beer.

Both the short-term and long-term packages have attracted not only new investors but some big names in industry away from hub areas.

#### Special Rates

"Packages, which include special rebates, rates, loans wage concessions and even special tender preferences on Government contracts, plus support in meritorious cases to industries rendering essential services to industries, are all geared to overcome the longer term cost disadvantages of establishing factories outside places like the Reef," says De Beer.

Ben du Toit, town clerk of Bronkhorstspuit and acting agent for the Decentralisation Board, says growth at Ekandustria and its contiguous KwaNdebele industrial area is gaining momentum.

"This is a massive venture involving new factories and some of the biggest township development in the country. Things are really booming."

#### Still Growing

Du Toit says the town board passed 380 building plans valued at R40-million last year. "Indications this year so far are that we'll beat that figure.

The project manager at Atlantis, Pieter Burger, says 16 new factories are being built while negotiations have reached an advanced stage for between 60 and 70 others.

"I'm surprised at the growth rate which has reached 38% per annum. It has accelerated these past 18 months".

He says 677 ha of industrial land has been sold and plans are to develop another 2 000 ha in three stages.

At East London, Ted Walsh, executive director of Bomedco, reports "intense interest on a daily basis" for new business ventures.

#### Satisfied

"We headed the decentralisation movement until March. Those companies that have moved from the Reef report they are happy that they took the decision."

Walsh says the main thrust has been to expand existing firms and the decentralisation policy has made this possible. Latest newcomer is Barlow-Rand which paid R6-million for the Johnson & Johnson factory, which they will convert for their Reef-based refrigeration operation.

Maritzburg has attracted 32 buyers of industrial land in the past 12 months and has concluded 75 transactions on 115 ha since 1982, reports Terry Thompson, the promotions officer.

"We would rather sell to a number of developers than a big chunk to one. That way we get a wider spread of industries and more job creation," he says.

OFS leader

But Bloemfontein is said to have the edge on Maritzburg when it comes to concessions. It sold 151 industrial plots since coming on to the decentralisation market 15 months ago. The Bloemfontein Council will put up another 280 industrial sites for sale in August.

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ATLAS COPCO AGREEMENTS WITH CHINA SIGNED

Johannesburg MINING WEEK in English 25 Jul 84 p 12

[Text] ATLAS COPCO has just signed two agreements with China regarding the manufacture under licence of certain types of drill rigs for driving tunnels, mainly tunnels for power stations and railways and drifts for coal mining, according to a statement from Delfos & Atlas Copco of Benoni.

These licencing agreements will involve a technology transfer to two Chinese plants, one in Nanjing and the other in Shenyang and will run, respectively, for eight and nine years.

For the Atlas Copco Underground Sector the agreements will means regular deliveries of drill rigs and components to China, a country which has great growth potential in tunneling and which has, furthermore, recently introduced a mechanization program for tunneling.

Atlas Copco Airpower had already, at the beginning of the year signed an agreement with China regarding the manufacture under licence of compressors in Wuxi, near Shanghai, and in Tianjin, in the Peking area.

These agreements also involve a technology transfer encompassing factories, the supply of components, training and expert assistance during the initial phase of manufacturing.

These agreements are a further advance of Atlas Copco's expanding presence in China and can be expected to result in a long-term breakthrough in the Chinese market for the products referred to and in considerably increased sales, especially in early phases of the agreements, said the statement.

Atlas Copco has now signed four licensing agreements with China.

These are the result of the company's many years of successful cooperation with the authorities and customers in China.

Atlas Copco has been delivering compressors and rock drilling equipment to China since the 1950s and right back in 1963 it was the first Swedish company to stage an independent exhibition in Peking. Group management are optimistic regarding Atlas Copco's potential to make even deeper inroads into the important Chinese market.

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## BLACK UNION MEMBERSHIP OUTPACES WHITE

Johannesburg INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 24 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Lynn Carlisle]

[Text]

**BLACK workers have now outpaced Whites in terms of trade union membership in SA.**

This is revealed in a new publication, the Directory of South African Trade Unions, published by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit — a research division of the University of Cape Town.

Interfaced with an increase in trade union membership of 58,5% between 1980 and 1983, Saldru reports that African membership increased the fastest — from 220 000 in 1980 to 670 000 last year, or 200%.

White and Coloured/Asian unions also increased their membership by 6% and 8,7% respectively.

"Total union member-

ship now stands at 1 545 824 of whom 271 934 are in unregistered unions," according to the directory.

But only about 15% of the economically active population in SA was unionised last year. This is twice that of 1970. Thus some 4,5-million workers remained in to be "organised or unionised".

Blacks make up 43,4% of union members, Whites stand at 33,9% and Coloureds/Asians comprise 22,7% of total membership.

The 321-paper directory lists 194 registered and 44 unregistered unions.

There are four major federations (umbrella unions) among 18 listed in the directory.

Tucsa, with 478 000 members and 54 affiliates, was the largest. However, several of these have moved away from Tucsa this year. It would then have represented 30,9% of all union members — more than three times the size of the second biggest federation.

"But the pending formation of a new federation comprising Fosatu, Cusa and several independent unions will create a powerful rival with about 300 000 members.

"If the establishment of the new federation is followed by union mergers, large industrial unions will be created in most major sectors."

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## IDC'S ROLE AS 'CATALYST OF INNOVATION' DESCRIBED

Johannesburg SA INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 24 Jul 84 p 9

[Interview of IDC Chairman by William Greenberg]

[Text]

**PRIORITIES** have changed over 40 years for the Industrial Development Corporation, catalyst of SA's industrial revolution under the legendary Van der Bijl, Van Eck and Kuschke, but the role it still has to play in the economy is spelled out by their successor, present IDC chairman Abie van den Berg, in this interview with Industrial Week's William Greenberg.

Can we go back over the IDC's track record? How much has the IDC already invested in South African industries and how many companies has it participated in?

We have more than 40 years of track record and I don't know if the bald figures are of much assistance. However, in direct industrial financing alone, we have over those years committed about R3 000-million to more than 3 000 establishment and expansion schemes. There is quite some duplication, in that many of our clients have turned to us again and gain so that the actual number of companies is a guess. I would say about 1 000 or more.

What sort of industries

has the IDC been ready to support over the years?

The IDC has been ready to support any type of industrial activity. But inevitably, as a country goes through the various phases of industrial development, so there is emphasis on these current needs. You'll find, for example, that as an aftermath of the heavy investments in the chemical industry in the last few decades, our list of current outstandings on loan account and share investments are skewed to that sector. We are now financing an increasing number of high-technology industries — SAMES, Iso-ster, and so on.

Is the promotion of maximum industrial self-

sufficiency still one of the IDC's major aims or have its priorities changed?

Industrial self-sufficiency remains an important goal. As you imply though, it is not now the most important or even desirable goal. We are a trading nation and as far as I am concerned the identification and exploitation of our natural advantages are more important goals, especially if that can lead to satisfying the immediate targets of improving our export performance, creating employment opportunities and developing a geographically well diversified economy.

On what basis does the IDC normally participate in an industry?

We participate according to the requirements of any expansion or establishment scheme. Remember, the IDC finances new capacity only — we are not interested in takeovers or mergers except to the extent that they may lead to new development opportunities. We concentrate therefore on the most needed type of finance — long-term loan capital, made available at market-related rates on commer-

cial terms. Share participations rarely arise, and control almost never. But share investments are not excluded.

Where an industrialist needs venture capital to establish himself, and his scheme has the necessary economic merit to warrant IDC participation, we will put up risk capital and on the basis that the entrepreneur can buy us out in due course.

Sometimes we are asked to join a venture as a permanent share partner and again if we like the scheme we'll agree to take up shares. We'll normally try to negotiate a condition that the IDC can sell its shares in due course, either to its own quoted investment trusts or other South African investors. By the way, our partners usually resist our requests to permit sales outside the IDC stable.

Control? Yes, we take control in isolated cases where the IDC takes the initiative in identifying the planning a project, and then underwriting the project establishment after inviting participation by the know-how providers and South African investors. We prefer minori-



ty participation even in such cases, though.

**Which of the IDC's investments would you regard as its biggest successes?**

Success measured in what terms? Financial? I think the biggest financial success is the Sasol group. But I can't claim that as the IDC's success. Apart from early advice and assistance and monetary contributions channelled by the Government through the IDC, it is the fruit of the labour of Sasol's successive management teams — and so I look at all our projects where we have contributed early planning and finance with perhaps a monitoring role after that.

It is not the IDC but the respective managements who have done the work. We were no more than a catalyst helping to start the project. So where do I think our project teams were particularly successful?

One old one is the Saicor plant at Umkomaas which has used South Africa's forest potential to develop a very major pulp export business.

Our Sapekoe tea estates are today major employers and have proved the viability of sub-tropical agro-industries. Most recent is the high-tech microchip plant at Pretoria which is working to full capacity, partly for the export market.

**Is it IDC policy to disinvest from an industry if it has helped once it can stand on its own feet, and then recycle those funds to an industry which has still to get off the ground?**

Divest itself of control, yes certainly. We have no ambitions to build up an industrial empire, and in those industries where we do have control we will at the opportune time and at the correct price sell out. Hopefully we would retain minority participation,

either directly or through our investment trusts.

We do believe that a development corporation should have a portfolio of share investments arising from its project development activities for several basic reasons — as a window on, and point of contact with, industry so that we continue to be involved in the day to day problems of manufacturing, and not lose touch with the realities of life; as a means to influence associated companies to further development by diversion and expansion, indeed a home for some of our newly identified projects; and as a growing source of income and base for our balance sheet on the strength of which we may borrow and gear up our lending activities.

**Do you think the IDC still has the same role to play in building up South African industries now that so much investment capital is being generated here by local companies who are not allowed to put it into any other country?**

The role of the IDC continually changes and I remember helping to establish a merchant bank and a discount house in the 'sixties. That would be inconceivable today. Today we find that there is, as ever, a need for long-term loan capital and, ironically, an increasing need for venture capital for smaller and medium-sized industries.

True, the major groups and institutions are focal points of capital formation and the industrial base is now such that the IDC's role of taking the lead in the establishment of new major grassroot industries is complemented by other large financial and industrial groups.

But there is an ever-expanding need to finance smaller innovative schemes which are of little interest to the large

houses and institutions where we, and lower down the financing scale the Small Business Development Corporation, can and intend to play a role. **How far is the IDC helping to decentralise industries to the Black homelands and national states?**

We don't operate in the independent and self-governing states. Each of them has its own development corporation for individual industrial and other ventures and can call on the Southern African Development Bank to finance infrastructural requirements.

But we could provide finance to industrialists in those countries if their governments or other authorities wanted us to do so. Our Act has recently been amended to permit such activities but we have no specific programme for doing so.

**Where do you see most growth potential for IDC-financed companies in the future?**

Of course, as I said earlier, the greatest part of the industrial base is already there. So growth must now come as a natural result of growth in the markets for existing products. This implies the widening of markets by exploring and exploiting export markets for those commodities where we have relative advantages, or creating such advantages by innovation and sheer productivity. Not easy — but when was life easy?

**Is the IDC planning any new investments, expansions or acquisitions at the moment? What funds are available?**

The IDC's resources are not infinite, but they are certainly substantial, based on an internal cash flow of about R250-million a year, a like amount of cash on hand and a balance sheet on which several hundred millions could be mobilised. Ac-

quisitions are not our business — in fact, quite the reverse.

So that leaves new investments and expansions. I don't at the present stage of the fixed investment cycle see much scope for major investments, or for that matter expansion at our associated companies.

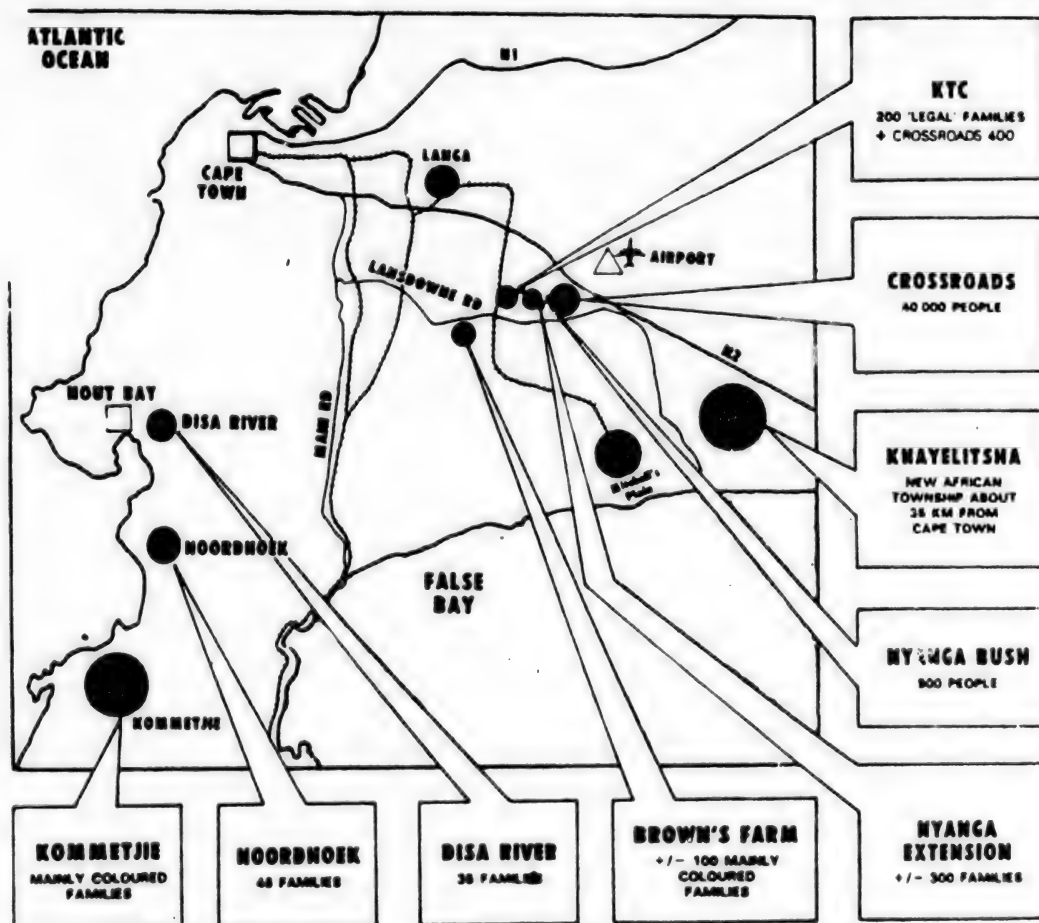
What I find most gratifying, though, is that despite current economic difficulties our loan clients are coming to us for increasing amounts to finance diversification and expansion schemes which will absorb our cash flow and more.

We were talking of our success stories. Well, that is our greatest success. The IDC can point with pride at hundreds of clients whose efforts and continuing support of the IDC have enabled us to grow and make our services available to an ever-widening circle of friends.

## LOCATIONS OF SHANTY TOWNS CHARTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jul 84 p 1

[Text]



Tens of thousands live in shanties in the Cape Peninsula. Today's pattern of settlement was set almost 10 years ago when the old shanty towns of Unibel and Modderdam were destroyed and Crossroads came to dominate the map. Housing shortages in the townships and migration from Transkei and Ciskei have swelled the camps of KTC, Crossroads and Nyanga Bush. In all three settlements arrests and repeated destruction of homes by officials have become routine. Many families have only plastic sheeting as shelter from the Cape winter. Residents of the small semi-rural settlements of Disa River and Noordhoek have also been rounded up for squatting.

## GOVERNMENT DRIVE AGAINST SQUATTERS SLAMMED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Aug 84 p 10

[Article by Allister Sparks in the "My View" column]

[Text]

With the predictability of Cape Town's cold, wet winters, Government officials are again tearing down the meagre wood-and-plastic shelters of the squatter camps on the city's fringes. Once again they are leaving scores of people, some sick and some with small babies, huddled in the wet.

At dawn one bitter August day three years ago, a group of American Congressmen wept as they stood in a hailstorm and watched one of the demolition squads go about its business.

"We saw the degradation of humans in the exercise of police power that was beyond belief," Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, said afterwards.

The same thing has happened every winter since then, as it had for four winters before. There have been demolitions in the summer too, and in the spring and autumn. But winter seems to be the favourite time for the biggest operations.

Occasionally, as when Congressman Wolpe was there, one hears some expressions of concern that actions like this give South Africa a bad name overseas. Businessmen worry about it because it gives the disinvestment lobby more ammunition. But what worries me is that, outside a small circle of concerned people, it seems to arouse so little public outrage.

What kind of people have we become that this can be done, year after year, without us raising such a roar of public wrath that the Government would be forced to stop?

The Government seems to be angry

and vengeful because the squatters are being defiant. But people don't squat on sand dunes under strips of plastic sheeting because they like the open-air life. They do it because they have nowhere else to live.

And in this instance they have nowhere else to live because of 20 years of misguided Government policy. The Government is punishing them for the consequences of its own errors. Perhaps that is why it is being so vengeful.

The source of the trouble goes back to 1962 when the Government declared half of the Cape Province, west of an imaginary line running from Humansdorp through Colesburg — called the "Eiselen Line" after Dr Verwoerd's Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr W W M Eiselen, whose idea it was — to be a "coloured preference area".

That meant no black person could be employed there unless it could be shown that there was no coloured person suitable for the job. The idea was to keep blacks out of the Western Cape so that it would be the one part of the country where they were in a minority.

In line with the policy, the Government froze the building of houses for blacks in the Western Cape. Only 5 000 were built over the next 20 years.

Like so many aspects of apartheid ideology, the theory did not accord with economic reality. Despite the restrictions, the number of blacks employed in the Western Cape increased by 63 percent between 1970 and 1980.

Because of the freeze on housing, they had nowhere to live. So the squatter camps began to spring up on the Cape Flats, beginning with Crossroads in the mid-seventies. So began a Catch 22. The Government is committed to preventing squatting, so it demolishes the squatters' shelters.

And since the ideology holds that many of these people, who are Xhosas, should be in the Transkei or Ciskei, they were sent there. But since there is no work for them in these poverty-stricken "homelands," they drifted back to rebuild their squatter shacks, only to have them torn down again.

The Government realised a few years ago that it had made a dreadful mistake and it has been trying frantically to build houses for blacks in the area, but it will take time to make up the huge backlog.

Meanwhile it refuses to relent on the squatters. Nor, pig-headedly, will it scrap the "coloured preference" policy.

In 1979 Dr Koornhof accepted the permanence of Crossroads, which had grown too big to eliminate. But he paid a heavy price within the National Party for this "humanitarian" concession. He had to promise that no other squatter camps would be permitted.

That is why he is so remorseless about demolishing the shelters which spring up outside the area he has prescribed around Crossroads. It is easier to trample on the defenceless than to fight one's party colleagues on a policy issue — especially when the Prime Minister's Cape branch of the party is behind that policy.

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● Allister Sparks, a former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.

BLACK NEWSPAPERS' REACTION TO WHITE WAGE DEMANDS CITED

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 25 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Terry McElligott: "How the Other Half Lives"]

[Text]

THOUSANDS of people in the the homeland of KwaNdebele have to get up at 2am to catch buses to their far-flung places of work, and some sleep as little as three hours a day, says a recent report in the Sowetan Sunday Mirror.

Some of the homelands spend as much as eight hours travelling to and from work, says the report.

And what of the other section of the black community, the urban blacks? A similarly grim picture is painted by newspapers and magazines of their life in crime-riddled townships. Soweto is described as "one of the most violent places in the world since the Vietnam war."

But, back to the Sunday Mirror story, which tells of the many busloads of people who travel plus-minus 150 km or more to work from KwaNdebele because there are no jobs in the homeland, north-east of Pretoria.

"This is not living," said one weary passenger. "We're merely existing." He catches a 2.30

bus to Pretoria and gets home at 10pm.

Another poignant comment: "My life comprises travelling to work and back. By the time you get to work or home you are tired."

Some workers hardly ever see members of their families or their friends. They arrive home late, eat, wash, sleep till 1.30 and then the day begins again. There's even a 20-minute walk to the bus stop for some.

The buses are often so packed that passengers have to stand all the way. Most people sleep until the buses get to Pretoria. Some work as far away as Johannesburg, Germiston and other Reef towns.

The Sunday Mirror's sister paper, the daily Sowetan, says the nightmare existence of these workers is not even typical of Third World country conditions but is more like the Middle Ages.

It blames the Government's "unworkable ideology" and says: "The leaders of this country and the other fat cats who are busy preening themselves about our wonderful advances

should be heartily ashamed of themselves."

The paper expresses the wish that whites who still believe in the "odious" homelands policy should read such stories as this one.

□ □ □

PACE magazine says of the escalating crime wave in the townships: "The devil and his cohorts have the ghetto in a tight grip, and rape, murder, assaults, and muggings are like a leech at everyone's throat as blacks wreak havoc on each other each day."

Why are the blacks doing this to each other?

"There are a complex number of reasons and diverse schools of thought. But most people agree that the only sure way to reduce the prevalent and soaring crime rate is to improve the quality of life of the people."

The paper argues that within the constraints of oppressive legislation such as the pass laws

and the influx control laws, it is common cause that people who find themselves victimised by a grotesque pattern of government will vent their wrath on each other. Some will turn to the bottle as a way of finding some mental solace. Some will become drug pushers.

The Rand Daily Mail Extra says someone is murdered in Soweto every six hours — an average of four murders a day.

With a population of just over one million, Soweto has the number one murder rate in the world. New York, with a population more than nine times bigger, has a murder rate of five people a day.

The last word comes from Percy Qoboza, writing in City Press. He describes the effects of apartheid laws on the black community and says the only way out of the present logjam is the conference table.

He hopes the Nationalists will realise this... "Otherwise the future is indeed too ghastly to contemplate."

CSO: 3400/2026



## DURBAN'S BUDGET BIGGEST IN SA

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 27 Jul 84 p 11

[Text]

DURBAN is once again the city with the biggest budget in the country and at a total of R870 million, it is also larger than the R814 million budget of the Natal Provincial Council.

Johannesburg, which last year exceeded Durban's budget for the first time in many years, this year has a budget of R858 million.

Third is Cape Town with a budget of R704 million. Pretoria's budget is R499 million.

City Treasurer Ossie Gorven said part of the reason why Durban's budget was larger than

Johannesburg's was that the city had a very big electricity undertaking.

The whole of the metropolitan area from Tongaat to Illovo and to Hillcrest was supplied with electricity bought by Durban. On the Reef most of the towns surrounding Johannesburg supplied their own electricity.

Despite the fact that local authorities this year were again restricted by the State Treasury to a 10-percent increase in expenditure, Durban's budget had increased by 18,8 percent

from last year's estimates of R732 million.

However, allowance had been made for special factors and an increase of 18,5 percent on this year's capital budget had already been granted, mainly because of the major roads programme in the city and the development of the Expo site, Mr Gorven said.

He had applied for a 20,4-percent increase on the operating budget which came to an estimated total of R659,3 million.

Of the total budget of R870,6 million, only

R181,7 million related to salaries and R153,6 million to capital charges.

The bulk buying of water and electricity cost R255,2 million while the remaining R280,1 million was directly subject to inflation and price increases imposed by the private sector.

Price increases and inflation were beyond the control of the city council, but every effort was being made to cut internal costs, and the level of service in the various departments was being reviewed, Mr Gorven said.

CSO: 3400/2026



## IMPORTATION OF CEMENT CAUSES CONTROVERSY

Johannesburg INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 17 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Lynn Carlisle]

[Text]

**CEMENT makers are to "keep their powder dry" until a ship from Norway lands 35 000-tons of Spanish or Japanese cement at Durban and "the other side" opens up with its sales of the imported material next month.**

A hot reception awaits the importers, a large Norwegian shipping concern, Gearbulk, and its Durban-based subsidiary, Cement Enterprises, said to be offloading a commodity of which there is a massive world surplus and good locally-produced supplies.

Major producers are uptight, not so much by the hush-hush tactics, but by "blatant propaganda" alleging drastic local shortages. Hence the in-

tention of the importers to offload 500 000 tons of cement on SA soil over the next year.

**Maybe better**

Cement Enterprises claims that Spanish cement will be superior to the local product — which is possibly true — and that it will undercut local prices by 5% if the order is for not less than 22 tons.

But local producers are irritated over the "shortages" claims and Peter Kett, commercial director of Blue Circle Cement, finds this statement "extremely offensive".

"I take the strongest exception to the propaganda used to justify the imports and sales of this cement, particularly when South Africa is hard pressed with the exchange rate of the rand

against dollars so unfavourable," says Kett.

The imports come at a time when most local cement plants have a surplus capacity and are about to come on stream with plant extensions started in recent years.

"It's absolute nonsense," says a spokesman for the SA Cement Producers' Association, "as there's been no shortage since 1981.

**Economic burden**

"The imports represent a load on the economy and also on producers with long-term commitments here. By the end of 1985 our production capacity will be up 22% as new plants and extensions worth R800-million will be commissioned by then," he says.

He says ships will carry cement for "next to

nothing" during the slump and that cement for Spain is only \$13-\$15 a ton. Domestic prices in Spain are \$42 and in Japan \$60-ton.

"We wonder whether this will turn out to be a fly-by-night situation once world cement prices return to normal. We are waiting for them and they can expect a hot reception," the spokesman adds.

**Tariff threat**

A spokesman for Pretoria Portland Cement says it will wait and see what the importers do with their first shipment.

"If their product is grossly underpriced we will have to apply for anti-dumping tariffs. Their claims of shortages are nonsense. If you hear of any shortages we would be pleased to know where they are," he says.

CSO: 3400/2026

## TROUBLES OF ASBESTOS PRODUCERS DESCRIBED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 20 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

[Text]

**GENCOR's two asbestos producers, Msauli and Gefco, took a pounding in the six months to June.**

Msauli was the worst affected, with operating income collapsing to R822 000 from the previous comparable six months' R1,81m and taxed income falling to R896 000 from R1,574m.

This was equivalent to earnings a share of 13,9c (24,4c) and Msauli passed its dividend for the six months to June.

It paid an interim of 5c a share for the six months to June 1983, while the mine's total dividend for the year to December was 10c a share paid from earnings of 51,3c.

Msauli's capital expenditure totalled R1,099m for the six months (R747 000), which meant the mine had a negative cash flow of R203 000 (3c a share), compared with retained earnings of R504 000 (7,8c a share).

The money was being spent on Msauli's tertiary shaft system and total capex for the year to December was estimated at R2,4m, which was a slight revision on the R2,7m forecast in the last annual report.

The level of capital expenditure was expected to drop sharply in 1985, once work on the tertiary shaft system had been completed.

Msauli produces chrysotile asbestos, the most common type of asbestos mined world-wide, and the interim report said demand for Msauli fibre remained firm during the six months, although prices were still under pressure.

The mine was flooded when Cyclone Domoina hit the Eastern Transvaal in January and considerable damage was also done to surface installations.

The interim report said the results for the six months were heavily affected by the flooding and it took longer than originally expected to reach steady-state production.

The chairman, Mr Luther Jooste, was looking for higher production for 1984 and maintained distributable income but this forecast was knocked on the head by Domoina.

The R1,301m in capex which remains to be spent will take up earnings of 20c a share if the mine finances it from its current earnings.

Coupled with the 3c a share deficit from the first half, this must place last year's final dividend of 5c in question and Msauli may well pay nothing to shareholders for 1984, unless it is prepared to borrow to finance its capex.

The interim report said Msauli had borrowing powers of R44,36m, of which only R43 000 had been utilised.

Griqualand Exploration and Finance (Gefco) had a better first half than Msauli but its operating income was still 24% lower at R7,875m, compared with R10,335m in the six months to June.

The benefits of the recovery in the world economies are not being seen by the asbestos producer, which has been forced once again to cut back on its production.

Gefco produces different types of asbestos to Msauli and is the world's sole producer of amosite asbestos and the largest producer of crocidolite.

Taxed income for the six months was R6,12m (R7,345m) equivalent to earnings a share of 17c (20,5c).

Gefco declared an unchanged interim dividend of 10c a share.

The company slashed its capital expenditure to R340 000 for the six months from the R1,524m spent in the previous comparable six months.

This left Gefco retained earnings of R2,189m (6c a share), compared with R2,230m (6,2c) for the previous comparable six months.

The interim report said the lower sales in the first half of the year had resulted in a further cut-back in production to counter increasing product stockpiles.

Estimated capital expenditure for the year has been cut to R2m from the previous forecast of about R3,5m.

CSO: 3400/2026

CISKEI WILL ABOLISH COMPANY TAX, SAYS SEBE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Mike Jensen]

[Text]

**BISHO.** — Ciskei has confirmed its commitment to abolishing all company taxes in the near future, State President Lennox Sebe said yesterday.

Opening the first Israeli factory in Ciskei — at Dimbaza — Mr Sebe said the Act to abolish company taxes had now been passed by the National Assembly and would be implemented on a date to be gazetted in the near future.

"Taxes, including company tax, are paid to governments who utilise the income to provide for the needs of the people of that country," he said.

"But it is obvious that, to a certain extent, such a process is counter-productive through its indirectness, through the fact that it is human to pay as little tax as possible, and through the diminishing effect administrative costs have on such revenue."

Ciskei regarded taxes as revenue to

feed the people, not the government, Mr Sebe said.

The abolition of company tax would allow the benefits of free enterprise to reach people directly and more quickly.

"It will obviously attract a far higher level of economic activity, which brings with it more and more job opportunities — and jobs are what my people need most."

Mr Amnon Spivak, the managing director of Ciskatex — the newly-formed Israeli clothing factory — said he would consider taking advantage of the new legislation when it was promulgated.

Ciskatex, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Israel-based Salmat, which exports clothes to Europe, was relocated from Israel at a cost of R1,6m to produce high quality underwear and fashion clothing.

The first year's turnover is expected to be in the region of R1,5m.

Ciskatex will produce between 150 000 and 250 000 garments a month, employing 150 people initially and 250 in two months' time.

CSO: 3400/2026

CTC BUS COMPANY ENDS TALKS

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 26 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] EAST LONDON--The CTC bus company said yesterday that it would make no further concessions to end the 12-month boycott of its buses.

It said it saw no point in any further discussions with any organisation in this regard.

The managing director of CTC, Mr Hans Kaiser, said all negotiations had come to an end as the bus company had done everything possible to end the boycott.

"It has become very clear that new demands are being thought up with every concession we make, and, short of closing down the company altogether, there is nothing else that we can do from our side," he said.

"It is obvious from recent discussions and articles in the press that the Committee of Ten, which claims to represent the Mdantsane commuters, has been misinforming commuters.

"Several steps that we took months ago to accommodate so-called grievances have not been communicated to the commuters it claims to represent. These are still being presented as demands not yet met by CTC, together with a set of new demands that were not at issue before," Mr Kaiser said.

"We have been led to believe that the increase in bus fares was the real reason for the boycott. However, we have reduced fares to the extent that they are in some cases even lower than the fares effective before the boycott started," Mr Kaiser said.

"Similarly, we have made significant concessions regarding the fares of pensioners and young children, which have been ignored by the Committee of Ten. To now demand that school-children and pensioners must travel altogether free of charge, borders on the ridiculous and does not happen anywhere else in the world, Mr Kaiser said.

He said it was totally impractical to expect the company to break off all ties with the Government of Ciskei. The government did not interfere with the operation of the company, he said.

"The situation is that the Ciskei People's Development Bank, the body responsible for the economic development of Ciskei, holds 50 percent of the shares in the CTC company. The Ciskei Government in turn holds all the shares in the Ciskei People's Development Bank."

"In the light of the fact we have already suffered a loss of R6,2 million, what are we supposed to do with these shares? It must be remembered that the governments of Ciskei and South Africa subsidize workers' tickets to the tune of millions of rands a year. Who will take over that subsidy if all ties with the Ciskei Government are broken?"

Mr Kaiser said the company would not deviate from its policy that it should employ only Ciskeians.

"The CTC is a service to commuters in the Ciskei and East London region and is heavily sponsored by the Ciskei Government. As the company plays a vital role in the development of Ciskei, we regard it as our duty to employ the people of Ciskei," Mr Kaiser said.

He said there had been complaints about the colour of CTC buses. He could see no reason why they should be changed. "This was never an issue in the boycott, but is now all of a sudden put forward as a demand," he said.

"This company has suffered severe losses in the course of this boycott. Changing the colour of the buses will only involve the company in more expense for no apparent reason. Further expenditure can only cripple the company further, to the detriment of our service."

"This company is prepared to, and in fact has, taken a considerable financial loss in order to meet the basic needs of the people we serve, but obviously this concern is not shared by others.

"Whatever the situation is now, the company can and will go no further. It is now up to the commuters to decide if they want a service or not. Ending the service will not only have disastrous effects on the commuters themselves, but will set the development of this region back by years," Mr Kaiser said.

CTC has announced a reduction in bus fares for Mdantsane workers averaging 23,5 per cent which comes into effect on July 30.

The company said the reduced fares averaged out at 23,5 per cent, but differed from route to route as a result of a revised formula for subsidies on workers' tickets and the rationalisation of the routes.

It said workers' clipcards were being subsidised by an average 70 per cent, placing bus fares in Mdantsane and East London among the lowest in Southern Africa. The company has also introduced new direct services between certain zones in Mdantsane and East London city and the West Bank. It said these services would be extended as the demand increased.

## PRICE RISES MASK PRODUCTIVITY LOSS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

[Text]

**SOUTH** African productivity losses last year were camouflaged because industry boosted product prices by R2 410-million, according to the National Productivity Institute.

Its sums refer to labour and capital resources only, excluding materials which could improve the performance of manufacturing in particular.

Last year was a classic case of price over-recovery, says the NPI, which it calls a short-term solution, but is a long-term recipe for economic disaster.

The institute says in a study on the relation between productivity change and price increase that most SA business sectors were in the "scramble" mode in December 1983, meaning that they relied on umbrella pricing to disguise productivity losses.

### Gap widened

Gold mining, other mining, electricity, transport, finance and central government all recorded profit increases in spite of a drop in the productivity of labour and capital.

They reaped immediate benefits through widening the gap between their costs and their prices. But according to the NPI, they need to reduce price increases to stimulate demand, productivity growth and economic recovery.

Construction and commerce were the only sectors not to profit from price recoveries. However, construction and commerce were alone in positive productivity growth.

A chink in the the study's armour is that it refers only to labour and capital contributions to productivity and price recovery change.

### Hardest hit

Manufacturing, the sector hardest hit by recession, made the largest contribution (R3 025-million) to last year's price changes in gross domestic product.

It also served up the biggest portion of negative productivity, was the biggest source of cost increases and had the second-highest price recovery.

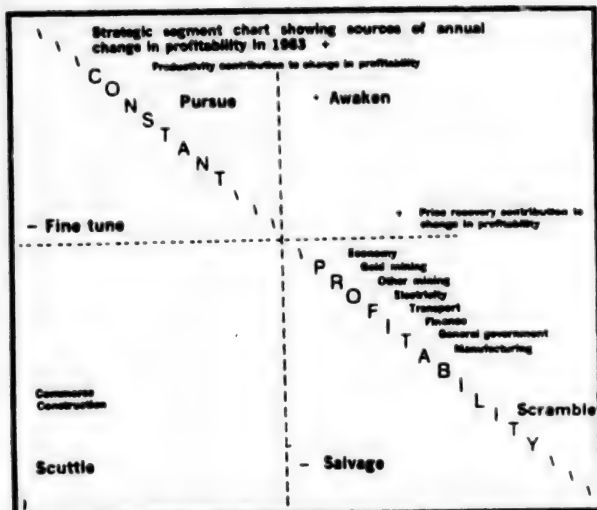
The NPI places manufacturing in the "salvage" mode of the productivity-profitability cycle. It says manufacturing is sicker than any other sector of the economy. In spite of extracting a price over-recovery benefit from consumers, it showed a productivity loss.

Construction and commerce, on the other hand, strengthened their competitiveness by transferring price under-recovery benefits to consumers. This means they absorbed many resource price increases by productivity growth.

These sectors are allocated the "fine tune" mode by the institute's productivity boffins.

They say: "The fact that the price under-recovery benefit transferred to the consumer more than offset the value of productivity gains points to fine-tuning





Most of South African industry (below the centre line) had to boost its prices considerably in 1983 to disguise labour and capital productivity losses.

pricing problems as opposed to the fundamental productivity problem experienced by manufacturing and other sectors."

As the recession bites deeper into consumers' pockets, it is likely that construction and commerce are not sitting as pretty half-way through 1984 as at the end of 1983.

## Scuttle

Fortunately, the NPI did not enter any business sectors in the "scuttle" mode. The word means abandon — business is dying as fixed costs are too high and price recovery is insufficient.

But neither were there any suitable entries for the "pursue" mode, the ideal position to be in.

In the light of the adverse publicity given to labour productivity, it is interesting to see that capital sparked more productivity losses and price over-recovery than labour.

Labour contributed more than capital to price changes and product cost. But it made a less significant contribution to profit, productivity and price recovery.

## Substitution

There is a good reason for this though. Labour can more easily be retrenched or rationalised in recession than capital — and producers may substitute capital for labour because of the rapid increase in employment costs.

The NPI says: "Substitution of capital for labour can also be expected unless management and labour co-operate to ensure improved labour productivity to finance increased wage bills."

In the computer age, it is a natural response for producers to become more capital intensive. Computer companies and manufacturers of machinery may protest, but their technological achievements are making severe inroads into the growth of demand for labour.

Central Statistical Services says that black employment decreased by 50 000 in major sectors of the economy between 1981 and March this year.

Labour unions in Britain have been vociferous about the loss of jobs to technology. In South Africa, wages and unfair dismissals are unions' priorities.

## More Questions Than Answers

**THERE** are more questions than answers, say many performance analysts.

Their inquiries unleash a barrage of questions and few answers as they unravel effects more than causes of ailing productivity.

Performance Measurement Theory, used extensively to measure productivity, is not for the company searching for panaceas to boost profitability.

## Wishy-washy

The National Productivity Institute calls it a flag-raising mechanism which poses rather than answers questions, which can only be answered by management familiar with a given operation.

The NPI says: "The productivity performance measure ... simply pro-

vides the monetary effects of labour and capital productivity losses. If the resource variability were known, the productivity change could be split into a term for change in capacity utilisation and a term for change in efficiency."

A question that springs to mind is: why bother measuring performance at all when the results are so wishy-washy?

However, in some cases these analyses are useful and conclusive. Many businesses — in the US particularly — are casting aside conventional profit analysis.

No longer do they define change in profit as the result of change in revenue and change in cost.

They are now throwing change in product quantity, change in productivity, and change in price recovery into the profit mix.

The equation Americans are using to measure change in profits now reads: productivity changes over capacity utilisation and efficiency, plus price recovery.

## Isolate

The NPI favours this theory, saying it enables a business to isolate the controllable factors which affect profit and measure their contribution to productivity growth.

A productivity study of a US steel corporation showing a profit increase of \$120-million in a short time could be applied to many SA companies.

The profit rise was mainly due to price overrecovery — product prices rising at a faster rate than resource costs. Investigation uncovered an efficiency decline which reduced profits by \$50-million.

NATION'S FOREIGN DEBT MUSHROOMS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Alec Hogg]

[Excerpts] SOUTH Africa more than doubled its foreign debt in the past three years to buoy economic activity. Without the large inflow of loans, economic retreat would have been even more pronounced.

The foreign debt burden has more than doubled since the boom year of 1980 when a huge surplus on the trade account led to large debt repayments.

South Africa is paying interest of R500-million a year--equivalent to 6% of exports. This compares with a more usual 2% to 3% in the past, but is well within the "bearable" international limit of 10%.

Of more concern is the sharp increase in short-term debt. Loans due to mature in less than a year rose from about a third of total foreign debt in 1980 to more than half at the end of last year.

Although this position is nowhere near the disaster proportions of nations like Brazil and Argentina, it is causing concern in Pretoria.

Stals Warns

The Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, Chris Stals, told Business Times: "We have always prided ourselves on being underborrowed. This is no longer the case.

"The sharp increase in foreign debt is not worrying overseas bankers who are still prepared to lend us as much as we want, but we cannot continue increasing our debt at this rate.

"As a developing country we need capital inflows, but I would rather that these came through long-term loans and equity, not through short-term debt as has happened recently."

## Protection

Dr Stals admitted that the sharp increase in foreign debt was caused by an overprotective economic policy, and that to some extent it reflected a misguided confidence in the balance of payments, and more specifically in gold.

"We should have taken the medicine a lot sooner. If we had not allowed foreign debt to rise at the rate it has, the negative growth rates experienced in 1982 and 1983 would have been much higher.

"I think that many people will be surprised by the growth figures for the 12 months to the end of June. The mini-boom was much stronger than all of us thought.

"It is difficult to justify this upswing. It is clear that we allowed the economy to grow at a time when we should have been putting on the brakes. We are paying for it now.

"With hindsight, we made the wrong decision, but if the gold price had co-operated and the drought had not persisted for a second year we would have achieved the soft landing we all hoped for," Dr Stals said.

The private sector was the biggest borrower, its foreign debt rising from R5 600-million to an estimated R13 600-million in the past three years.

Most of this increase was caused by short-term borrowings--a system encouraged by the Reserve Bank through its pitching of the forward cover rates which made it attractive to borrow abroad.

This in turn was done to bring foreign exchange into SA to meet the widening balance of payments deficit.

Some of the increase can be accounted for by trade finance, but most appears to have been in loans for consumption expenditure.

## Rolled Over

Dr Stals said: "In theory, the growth in short-term debt should not be all that worrying because most loans are rolled over when they mature. But we have seen a hard core of debt build-up, and that could cause problems."

The most severe of these is the sharply higher interest payment which has to be met as a result of the rand's fall.

For instance, a \$100-million Eurodollar loan taken out last July at a fixed 10% would attract interest today of R15,6-million compared with R10,9-million then.

In addition, the capital amount of the loan would have grown from R109-million to R156-million.

## FOREIGN DEBT MUSHROOMS

		1979	1980	1981	1982	1983*
PRIVATE SECTOR	Short Term	3 294	3 470	5 436	8 231	10 100
	Long Term	2 347	2 106	2 557	2 997	3 500
	TOTAL	5 641	5 576	7 993	11 228	13 600
PUBLIC CORPORATIONS	Short Term	69	92	64	206	400
	Long Term	3 758	4 103	4 490	5 368	6 600
	TOTAL	3 827	4 195	4 554	5 574	7 000
CENTRAL GOV AND BANKING SECTOR	Short Term	1 194	1 201	3 380	3 772	4 700
	Long Term	2 477	1 933	2 403	3 930	4 700
	TOTAL	3 671	3 134	5 783	7 702	9 400
TOTAL FOREIGN DEBT		13 139	12 906	18 330	24 504	30 000
% OF GDP		27,7	21,0	26,3	31,2	34,2

\* Business Times estimates; Official figures not yet available.

The table shows how SA's foreign debt has risen in the past five years. The latest official figures are up to the end of 1982 and have been reproduced from the Reserve Bank's Quarterly Bulletin. The figures for 1983 have been estimated.

## Risk

Even if the borrower covered himself against the exchange rate risk by taking out forward cover, the difference has to be met eventually by the Reserve Bank.

SA's foreign debt has been rising since 1956. As a developing nation, it is understandable that over the long term foreign debt will increase.

Foreign capital is needed for development and it has only been in exceptional years, like 1980 when the gold price hit \$850, that SA has been able to repay foreign debt.

CSO: 3400/2026

# AFRIBANK OFFICIAL ON ECONOMIC INEQUITIES

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 29 Jul 84 p 10

[Text]

WHEN Moses Maubane, Afribank's chief executive and managing director, left the comfortable academic life at the then University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland seven years ago, two crucial challenges faced him.

One: He had to succeed and satisfy his urge to make a positive contribution to the advancement of his people.

Two: He had to succeed in a black-orientated and black-owned business operation.

"Most of my colleagues said I was making a serious mistake, particularly about joining a black organisation. But I'm happy that the opposite has happened," chuckles Mr Maubane, who has since risen to become one of the most important black voices in the country's corporate world.

In addition to his services in the

Free Market Foundation, he serves on the Association of General Banks, on United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program and is treasurer of Atteridgeville's Thabong Home.

"While lecturing, I felt I had reached a stage in my career which required me to make a change. I was beginning to miss the real world. I needed something more than the theory of things," said Mr Maubane.

He took the plunge and joined the growing black business giant, the National Federated Chamber of Commerce, as an executive director.

And he adds: "Joining Nafcoc came at an interesting time after my academic background. It was one way to make a positive contribution to black advancement."

This bundle of business brains

and energy was born 43 years ago in the then black Pretoria township of Bantule.

It is when Mr Maubane talks of the future that you forget that he is a trained chartered secretary and holds a diploma in banking.

He is also a member of the SA Institute of Management, Institute of Marketing Management and the Association of Commercial and Financial Technicians of SA.

"My feelings are that the future for blacks is exciting in some respects - exciting because we can succeed.

"My optimistic view depends very much on what Prime Minister PW Botha and his party see as the best interests of the country," he said.

"They will have to move towards the political accommodation of blacks."

## Workers Give the Nod to Socialism

SOUTH Africa's workers don't see any benefits in capitalism for anyone except the bosses. There is also great potential for industrial unrest and the workers are ready to accept socialism.

These are the recently-released findings of a study carried out by Project Free Enterprise headed by Professor Martin Nasser at the Unisa School of Business Leadership

The report has sparked off intense debate, Afribank managing director Moses Maubane gives his view.

IN RECENT months the concept of capitalism has come increasingly under heavy fire from blacks from all walks of life.

Blacks are becoming more and more disenchanted with what they perceive to be an economic system bent on benefitting a small portion of the population.

In addition there has been charges by very influential people in the black community, particularly those who are in the political arena, that capitalism in South Africa is practised on racialistic lines.

They have as a result coined the phrase "racial capitalism".

During March 1983 I myself had this to say at a conference in Johannesburg: "If efforts towards the establishment of a black capitalist class were not stepped up, South African blacks would be driven into the adoption of a more radical system in order to redress the unfair situation prevailing.

"There is a very strong possibility that we will soon have to contend with foreign concepts like Marxism".

At that conference where the charge of "racial capitalism" was made, a news report was circulated which read as follows: "Some 800 blacks representing about 200 organisations unanimously adopted a manifesto at the weekend identifying racist capitalism as the real enemy and planning to work for an establishment of a non-racial socialist republic."

We are told South Africa is a free enterprise system economy.

I can, therefore, venture to say that broadly speaking South Africa does not have a free enterprise economy.

And I am saying so knowing this is actually drawing swords against quite a great number of well-thinking people, including those who profess to be supporters of the black cause.

However, I do believe that it would be totally irresponsible of myself or any other right-thinking person, to really equate the system of free enterprise in South Africa with the true and genuine article.

In a sense one can say that South

Africa has a mixed economy with very strong socialistic leanings.

I do not have to explain to township dwellers what it means to live in these townships.

To me nothing is more socialistic than the entire framework of township life in all its facets.

If you look at the means of production in the township, one is struck by the fact that the assets that really matter are not in the hands of the people or the entrepreneurs, but are really in the hands of the State or para-State organisations.

Even if one takes a more benign look at the country as a whole, one is struck by the fact that there is an anomaly in the whole set up.

Wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy people or highly powerful combines or organisations whereas the bulk of the people do not really seem to be benefitting from the wealth of the nation as such.

Again I would like to point out that if one were to look at effects of the mixedness of this economy on the nation as a whole, one is struck by one thing, and that is apartheid and its policies is a very costly luxury to a nation which can least afford it.

I believe if one were to quantify in money terms the cost of pursuing the policies of separation and so forth in this country, that cost would indeed be mind-boggling.

You know that the more than 22 million blacks are for all intents and purposes excluded from the mainstream of the so-called free enterprise economy in South Africa.

My argument is that it is not possible to increase the black man's participation nor to be able to sell the acceptance of a system which is not seen to be beneficial to them under the prevailing economic dispensation.

It is equally important to realise also that to make black capitalists, we would have to accept that we cannot achieve this purely in a vacuum.

If we believe that we can create black capitalists in a vacuum we have to realise that we are totally deluding ourselves.

Usually white people, in an attempt to smear the black people's legitimate right to demand equality of treatment, bringing up the argument of the one man, one vote bogey.

The one man, one vote bogey is supposed to be the very thing that



white people fear as they see this as an attempt by the majority of the black population to dominate them.

I do not think that blacks really intend to dominate anyone but are simply asking to be given an opportunity to share equally with all people of this land.

The matter of education is obviously of utmost importance.

The availability of good quality education is of the utmost importance to the black masses.

If we do not overhaul the differentiated systems and so-called separate but equal education, I do not think we will achieve any significant progress in the march towards opening up the economy.

It is great cause for concern that the equitable distribution and thus the ownership of wealth in South Africa, is to say the least, highly skewed.

It is a formula for disaster to have more than 68 percent of our wealth concentrated in roughly 16 percent of the population.

It is a well-known fact that the Government of the day has been prone to sacrifice economic common sense on the altar of political expediency.

Small wonder then that today South Africa is relatively far from realising its economic potential.

Policies such as the border industries and the deliberate holding down of the economic growth of the country are party to our past economic legacy.

The history of the trade union movement in our country is not a happy one.

Much has to be done to break down the fears and distrusts that seem to characterise black and white management labour relationship.

But one must be aware that black people, who are the ones who are said to be causing the disruptions, have many genuine grievances against the system.

And we have to be aware that this is the price we have to pay in not having involved organised black labour earlier in its formative stages into the main stream of the economy.

However, its success (free enterprise) as an overall economic order supported by all South Africans will depend on the extent to which the Government is prepared to move towards doing away with the laws which presently impede both black business and individuals from full and meaningful participation.

How willing and courageous will the Government be to introduce fundamental reforms?

Will these reforms help to a great extent to make blacks of all political persuasions give the system the chance it deserves? Are we going to be able to find answers to the problems of the distribution of wealth which the socialist order purports to be able to solve?



## TERRORIST BOMBINGS RAISE QUESTION OF INSURANCE COVER

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 24 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Tom Louw]

[Text]

**EAST LONDON —** Terrorist bombings in recent weeks have raised again the question of insurance cover.

The question was highlighted last week when a Durban family, whose car was wrecked in the last Durban bomb blast, complained that their insurance company, with which they had been insured for 14 years, would not pay them out.

Insurance men make the point that ordinary homeowners' or householders and comprehensive motor insurance, even if they include riot cover, do not include losses from political riot or urban terrorism.

One of them put it this way: "We can accept as an insurable risk damage to property or vehicles by vandalism, accident, or riotous behaviour. But when that damage is caused by

politically-inspired violence having as its objective the overthrow of the state by force, then that is a matter for the government, just as in the case of war damage."

Mr Dolf Coetzer, manager of AA Mutual in East London, confirmed that to obtain political riot cover, it is necessary to take out the special insurance provided through the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria), for which insurance companies are agents.

The cost of premiums, according to the manager of another large insurance company, varies with the nature and use of the premises.

Insurance on a private house would be at a lower rate than a factory or central city business premises.

He pointed out that building societies are insisting on political riot cover as a condition for

issuing mortgage bonds.

Cover for a private car costs R10 a year. One large insurance company has sent out renewal notices this month with a note saying that recent events have re-emphasised the need for car insurance to include such cover.

The chief executive of Sasria, Mr R. Schneeberger, said the special insurance was introduced after the 1976 Soweto riots, which showed the need for cover arising from political terrorism which was not covered by insurance companies.

He said that from the many claims Sasria has received, there is no difficulty in establishing under which type of riot insurance a claim falls.

"Of course, if you have both Sasria and conventional riot cover, then short of war you are covered," he said.

In the event of a dis-

pute an arbitration board would be set up.

The government is a "reinsurer of the last resort," becoming involved in a claim only when Sasria's funds do not cover the damage.

The managing director of Bowring Barclays for Transvaal Central, Mr Richard Austin, said many people do not yet see political riot cover as a necessary part of their insurance policy.

"Many people don't include it in their insurance policy as they don't see something like a bomb blast being a real threat to them — or they are very optimistic," he said.

A spokesman for Commercial Union Insurance said in his experience most prudent people, who were serious about insurance, especially business men, would have political riot cover.

CSO: 3400/2026

NEW MEASURES TO ENCOURAGE SAVING, TO CURB SPENDING

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text] THE Government announced strong new credit measures last night to encourage saving and to curb excessive consumer spending.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism, laid down new minimum deposits and maximum repayment periods in respect of 11 categories of consumer goods in terms of the Credit Agreement Act.

The new minimum deposits on what he called "certain durable consumer goods", were of immediate effect, Dr De Villiers said.

Affected

The eleven categories of goods effected are:

Household furniture, including garden furniture, carpets and rugs--minimum deposit now 15 percent--maximum repayment period 18 months, compared with 10 percent and 24 months.

Electrical and non-electrical appliances for domestic use--15 percent and 18 months (10 percent and 24 months).

Camping equipment--15 percent and 18 months (10 percent and 24 months).

Jewellery, watches and clocks--25 percent and 12 months (10 percent and 24 months).

All photographic equipment--25 percent and 12 months (10 percent and 24 months).

Television receivers--15 percent and 20 months (10 percent and 36 months).

TV aerial systems and accessories--15 percent and 20 months (10 percent and 36 months).

Video-cassette recorders and players--30 percent and 12 months (15 percent and 24 months).

Video-cassettes and tapes--30 percent and 12 months (15 percent and 24 months).

Electronic TV games--30 percent and 12 months (15 percent and 24 months).

All mechanically propelled cars and minibuses designed to seat not more than 15 persons, motorcycles and motor tricycles--20 percent and 36 percent (15 percent and 42 months).

"The new curbs will have an adverse effect on employment and could accelerate the economic downswing," Professor Leon Weyers, chairman of the Consumer Council said last night.

He stressed however, that the move was also likely to have a positive effect on the inflation rate.

This was a priority and the announcement had to be seen in this light.

Mr Leon Bartel, president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said: "We understand the Government's feelings that consumer spending is not being curbed, especially at a time when the country is experiencing a recession."

The measure would have a significant effect. Of importance was the effect the measure would have on industry as far as profit margins were concerned.

"Selective import controls on luxury goods should be introduced," Mr Bartel said.

Representatives of two motorcycle importers and distributors have welcomed the move.

Mr Harry Ditchfield, product performance director of Midmacor, importers and distributors of Honda, said the 20 percent deposit was a "good thing", while the reduction of the time limit for payment from 40 months to 36 would not make much difference to motorcycle sales.

Mr Ditchfield described the new limits as "not so unreasonable for HP" and pointed out that it was the price that affected sales.

Mr Charles Young, Managing Director of Young Yamaha, said the country needed discipline and there was no objection to the announcement. "As long as it is in line with cars, that's fine," he said, from Durban.

CSO: 3400/2029

WAGE INCREASE SOUGHT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Aug 84 p 3

[Text]

PIETERSBURG. — More than 1 700 workers at two Tempest International plants, in Pietersburg and Seshego, were yesterday ordered out of the company's premises by management following mass sit-ins over wage increases.

The workers, mostly members of the Black Electronics and Electrical Workers Union, BEEWU, had demanded a wage increase of 50 per cent across the board.

The lowest paid workers at Tempest earns R18 per week.

According to BEEWU's national organiser, Mr Thabo Montjane, worker representatives at the Pietersburg branch — with a work force of about 1 000 — failed to reach an agreement with management yesterday morning.

After downing their tools, the workers were ordered off the premises. They marched seven kilometres to the Seshego plant, where those workers, mostly women, joined in a march to the Lutheran Church in Zone 3 where a meeting was held. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2029

## POLICE INVESTIGATE CISKEI ARMS IMPORTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 31 Jul 84 p 3

[Text]

POLICE are investigating allegations that top Ciskeian officials and a prominent Pretoria arms dealer are involved in a lucrative arms and ammunition importing racket with retail outlets in Pretoria and on the Reef.

It is believed a top-level committee headed by the chief of the South African CID, Lieutenant-General Christie Zietsman, is probing the allegations.

The operation is said to have involved several big consignments, of as many as 50 000 rounds of ammunition at a time, which, with the weapons, are being sold to the man-in-the-street at prices which undercut the average South African firearms dealer.

Several leading South African arms and ammunition dealers say the supplies have come into the Republic under cover of Ciskei consignment notes. The imports are ostensibly for the Ciskei but

are being redirected into South Africa.

Allegedly involved in the operation are a Pretoria arms dealer, a Johannesburg businessman who was once a magistrate, a former high-ranking police official in the Ciskei and other homeland leaders.

Arms importers and wholesalers said they were losing sales because of the under-the-counter imports.

They noted that their own imports were subject to customs duties and that the local arms and ammunition manufacturing industry was protected by restrictions on imports similar to those applicable in the motor industry.

"These people are bringing huge quantities of material into this country on the pretext that it is destined for the Ciskei's armed forces," one importer said.

"But the hardware has found its way to gunshops in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand area. Some of these

arms are even turning up in the Western Transvaal."

The operation is said to have started early last year when a group of local businessmen launched companies with high-ranking Ciskei officials as directors.

One of the firms, registered as a Ciskei business, has an address in Sunnyside, Pretoria.

Through this company, import papers were obtained for the Ciskei. But most of the material is now in South Africa, after being sold by dealers who "dodged" the import quotas and did not pay import duties.

A leading South African firearms dealer, Dr Lucas Potgieter, who is also chairman of the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut's firearms committee, noted that import charges on arms and ammunition were usually about 65 percent of the value of the material.

## NEW PLAN TO GUARD CAHORA POWERLINES STUDIED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[Text]

THE possibility of using private security firms — not South African troops — to guard the Cahora Bassa powerline in Mozambique is being explored by the South African Government.

The suggested use of South African troops to guard Mozambican sections of the powerline with Mozambican forces in terms of the Nkomati Accord has proved a sensitive issue, with the Government coming under fierce attack by the Con-

servative Party over the issue.

Reports quoting Mozambican Government sources that South African troops and helicopters were being used to guard the powerline have been vigorously denied in South Africa.

Government spokesmen have stated that at this stage no South Afri-

can troops or equipment have been committed to the defence of the powerline.

While the accord does commit South Africa and Mozambique to take "immediate steps" to protect the powerline, the wording does not appear to commit the Republic to using troops for this purpose.

However, when The Citizen yesterday discussed the possibility of using private security guards for the purpose with top security concerns operating in South Africa, they were sceptical about such a scheme for two main reasons.

Firstly, the costs of mounting such an operation for an indefinite period in the face of possible attacks by members of the Mozambican Resistance Movement (MNR) would probably prove prohibitive.

Secondly, it would raise the ticklish question of deploying foreign armed

civilians in Mozambique, which could prove even more sensitive than using South African troops.

The 90-day period in the inter-state agreement for implementation of the measures to protect the powerline, failing which either side can demand an immediate meeting, has long since lapsed and according to the most recent reports Cahora Bassa is still not supplying South Africa with power.

But, in the interim, there have been several meetings of the joint security committee set up in terms of the accord.

Mozambique, which desperately requires the foreign exchange that it will get once the scheme is in operation and Portugal, which also has a financial interest in the project, are no doubt anxious to see the scheme to protect the powerline go into operation as soon as possible.

## MINES' LOWEST INJURY RATE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Aug 84 p 25

[Text]

SOUTH African gold and coal mines recorded the lowest-ever fatality and reportable injury rates during the first six months of this year, the president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr George Nisbet, announced yesterday.

Opening the underground transport symposium in Johannesburg, Mr Nisbet said provisional figures released this week showed that there had been a significant improvement in safety on mines which were members of the Chamber.

The fatality rate for all member mines during the first half of this year was

only one per 1 000 people employed per annum.

He said the fatality rate for gold mines was 1,16 compared with 1,30 for the whole of last year, while the rate on coal mines dropped to 0,51 from 1,49 in 1983.

The reportable injury rates for the six month period were 28,12 for gold mines, 8,05 for coal mines and 23,72 for all mines.

"It is no co-incidence that the lowest fatality and injury rates are being recorded at a time when we have the highest number of five-star mines and

also the largest number of mines, about 100, participating in the international safety rating (ISR) programme," Mr Nisbet said.

CSO: 3400/2029



## SASOL STEMS RISING OIL IMPORT BILL

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 29 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by David Carte]

[Text]

**THE** soft rand has pushed South Africa's oil import costs back towards pre-Sasol levels — but Sasol is saving hundreds of millions of rands a year in foreign exchange.

A Sasol spokesman says the oil-from-coal giant is propping up the balance of payments at "an unbelievable rate".

At present rates, foreign exchange savings will amount to the capital cost of Sasol Two and Three — R5 800-million — in under four years.

## Opec

Opec's benchmark price has weakened 33% to \$38 a barrel from a high of \$42. With Opec in disarray, it could go lower. But South Africa has probably never paid more for its oil than now in rand terms.

When oil was at \$42 a barrel, the rand was worth \$1.15. Now oil is \$38 a barrel and the rand is worth 0.64 US

cents. So, assuming SA pays standard prices, a barrel of oil today costs R43.75 against R36.50 before — 30% more than when the world price was at its highest.

## Diesel

Sasol will eventually have the capacity to make more than 50% of the nation's fuel. South Africa's refineries, including Sasol, are producing too much petrol and not enough diesel fuel.

Because of this, oil industry watchers surmise crude oil imports have probably not dropped by much more than 30%, so the rand cost of oil imports could be higher today than before Sasol Two started.

But although oil imports may still be costing SA as much as they did when the oil crisis was at its peak 10 years ago, the consolation is that without Sasol and the rand so low, they would have been even higher.

The soft rand has pushed up the cost of crude imports and the "slate" on which Government calculates over- and underrecoveries with the oil industry is millions of rands in the red.

This means a fuel price increase is on the way, failing spectacular recoveries in gold and the rand.

## Stockpile

One way to avert or hold down fuel price increases would be to draw off more of the strategic stockpile. This would result in huge profits for the State as these stocks were acquired at much lower prices up to 10 years ago.

Some of the stockpile has already been refined.

An analyst said the stockpile could be replenished relatively cheaply when the rand strengthened. But the Government might not have the confidence in gold and the rand to do this.

Because of the oil glut and the huge cost of funding stocks, many nations' stock-

piles have been run down.

With fuel one of the biggest upward pressures on the growing balance of payments deficit, the Government is encouraging greater fuel use by lifting the speed limit.

Economists said this was because too much petrol was coming out of refineries, including Sasol's, relative to diesel fuel.

It was simpler to encourage the burning of this excess petrol than to export it into oversupplied markets, even if — as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research has calculated — higher speed limits resulted in 17 000 extra road accidents a year.

One critic said the Government should take decisive action to encourage the saving of diesel fuel and encourage motorists to switch to petrol-driven vehicles. Diesel fuel should be more expensive than petrol.

But this would hit farmers, SA Transport Services and road hauliers and would be financially impossible and politically unacceptable in the wake of the drought.

## BRIEFS

COLOURED VOTERS REGISTER POORLY--CAPE TOWN.--Relatively fewer Coloured voters were registered for the Parliamentary elections than for the first Coloured Persons' Representative Council elections in 1969, according to Mr Ebrahim Patel, a researcher at the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town. Mr Patel found that relatively few new voters registered specifically for the August 22 elections. Besides those registered for the CRC elections, 231 423 new voters had joined the ro--representing 26 per cent of all registered voters and 15 per cent of all eligible voters. "If the state were to claim a mandate from the election at least 50 percent would have to vote." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 13]

BUS STRIKERS STAY AWAY--BUS drivers who went on strike near Garankuwa on Tuesday did not returned to work, the company said yesterday. On Tuesday, a spokesman for the strikers said about 300 drivers went on strike after two colleagues were dismissed and later reinstated on a temporary basis. Several Bophuthatswana policemen were reported to have been injured in a clash with the strikers when they disrupted a protest meeting at Erasmus on Tuesday. The company, Pitso Transport, said that all the drivers involved had broken their work agreement. Applications for reinstatement would be considered for a limited time. If necessary, the company would "embark on a full scale recruiting and training programme." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Aug 84 p 8]

CSO: 3400/2029

## BRIEFS

AIRPORT BOOST FROM FRANCE--The French government has provided nearly E4 million for the supply and installation of navigational aids at the Matsapha Airport. This was disclosed by the Minister of Works and Power, Chief Sipho Shongwe over the weekend. He said at present his ministry was waiting for French contractors to undertake the project. The Minister also stated that another major project was the construction of the control tower operations building and the remote transmitter station. This project has been financed by the European Economic Community (EEC). It will be completed by June 1985. He also disclosed that the airside works and the runway are expected to be completed by August 10, this year. The extension of the existing passenger terminal building will be financed by local resources. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 30 Jul 84 p 3]

AIRLINE AGREEMENT WITH PAKISTAN--The Minister Without Portfolio, Mr Mhambi Mnisi has said that with the agreement between the Royal Swazi Airways and the Pakistan International Airways, Swaziland will get an opportunity to be recognised internationally. Mr Mnisi was speaking at a cocktail party in honour of the signing ceremony at the Lugogo Sun Cabanas on Friday. The Minister also stated that it is not only Swaziland that will benefit from airline links, but people from Pakistan will also get a chance to come to countries in Southern Africa, thus Swaziland's tourism would be boosted. Mr Mnisi said that he hoped that this broad co-operation between the two airlines will be maintained. He concluded by emphasising the importance of this agreement which he said, is a breakthrough for Swaziland's airline into international standards. [Text] [Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 6 Aug 84 p 5]

CSO: 3400/2033

BRIEFS

NEW MEASURES ON TOGO BORDER—Border guards in the Volta Region have introduced new stringent measures to check the illegal movement of people across the border with Togo. According to the new measures, any guardsman who assists anybody to cross the border through an unapproved route, will face instant dismissal. Sources close to the Aflao border station said that anybody who is arrested for entering through an unapproved route, will receive corporal punishment, apart from forfeiting all items found on him or her. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jul 84 p 14]

CSO: 3400/2031

## SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS NATION'S MAIN TRADING PARTNER

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Aug 84 p 13

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text]

**HARARE** — South Africa last year remained Zimbabwe's main trading partner, says the latest quarterly review of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, based on no change in trading patterns in the first seven months of 1983.

The review says during that period South Africa took 18,6 percent of Zimbabwe's exports and supplied 23,3 percent of imports.

Main markets for Zimbabwe exports after South Africa were Britain (9,2 percent), the United States (6,7 percent) and West Germany (6,3 percent).

Exports to the countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination conference (SADCC) accounted for 12,4 percent of total exports, reflecting no change in the pattern.

Of the SADCC markets, Botswana was the biggest, followed by

Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi.

Import statistics show that after South Africa, the United States and Britain each provided 10,2 percent of Zimbabwe's imports, and West Germany 6,9 percent.

Collectively the SADCC countries supplied 9,6 percent of imports, with Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique the main sources.

The economic review estimates Zimbabwe's GDP declined by 4,4 percent last year, repeating the decline seen in 1982.

It says the overall balance of payments deficit for 1983 was estimated at R300 million which was financed by drawings from the International Monetary Fund and by short-term borrowings.

But it noted hopes of an improvement in the balance of payments in the first quarter of this year, with a sharp increase in the trade surplus reflecting higher

earnings from exports as well as import cuts.

Mineral stockpiles, with the exception of asbestos, had been almost eliminated, said the review.

It said food imports between June this year and October 1985 could cost R180 million.

The foreign exchange savings generated by the suspension of external dividend payments and the halt to income remittances, and the acquisition of external shares, would amount to R24 million a month and enable Zimbabwe to pay for food imports and honour international obligations.

The Reserve Bank said it was unlikely there would be a sustained economic upturn until the latter half of 1985 and this would depend on a significant strengthening of the balance of payments. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

**END OF**

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